BLOCKING THE SCHOOL PLAY: US, JAPANESE, AND UK TELEVISUAL HIGH SCHOOLS, SPATIALITY, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TEEN IDENTITY

by

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ABSTRACT

School spaces differ regionally and internationally, and this difference can be seen in television programmes featuring high schools. As television must always create its spaces and places on the screen, what, then, is the significance of the varying emphases as well as the commonalities constructed in televisual high school settings in UK, US, and Japanese television shows? This master's thesis considers how fictional televisual high schools both contest and construct national identity. In order to do this, it posits the existence of the televisual school story, a descendant of the literary school story. It then compares the formal and narrative ways in which *Glee* (2009-2015), *Hex* (2004-2005), and *Ouran koukou hosutobu* (2006) deploy space and place to create identity on the screen. In particular, it examines how heteronormativity and gender roles affect the abilities of characters to move through spaces, across boundaries, and gain secure places of their own.

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Introduction: Orientation[1]

Education serves as a vehicle for transmitting discourses about nation and identity. It does this by imparting social and cultural norms, expectations of behaviour, and reinforcing dominant images of national citizenship. This can be done overtly, through pledges to flags and ceremonies opened with the singing of anthems; it can be done more covertly, through textbook choice, emphasis on the efforts of certain types of students over others, and selective correction of student behaviours. Representations of education can perform these same functions, often in a covert manner. Discourses about identity and its construction can be reinforced, challenged, or both, through representations of adolescent characters on television. Such constructions are often nation-specific. This thesis will examine television programmes from the U.S., Japan, and the U.K. These three programmes, *Glee* (2009-2015), *Ouran High School Host Club* (2011), and *Hex* (2004-5), manipulate space and place to construct the national and individual identities of their fictional students.

Definitions of space and place necessarily overlap. As Tuan expresses it, "[p]lace is security, space is freedom" (3); in other words, place is more fixed and space more fluid. Yet one cannot truly be separated from the other, because "[w]hen space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place" (Tuan 73); thus, space becomes place when it gains strong meaning. Lury distinguishes the terms by noting "[p]laces operate or represent a series of spatial relationships which we make sense of, or become familiar with, over time" (qtd in Coon 3). Put simply, all places are spaces, but not all spaces are places. The term "space and place" will be used throughout this thesis to acknowledge that not all televised spaces are constructed with the same level of meaning.

Space and place intersect strongly and yet ambivalently with ideological constructions of identity in televisual school stories. Televised spaces and places connect to

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented at the 2016 UNBC Grad Conference in my paper "Why Don't You Sing About It? Space and Place and Identity Construction on *Glee"* and at the 2015 UNBC Grad Conference in my paper "Medenham's Haunted Halls: National Identity in *Hex*."

reality while at the same time making visible constructions of class, race, and gender (Lury and Massey 232-3). In programmes set in schools, the characters themselves often question those constructions. These characters are in a state of development that makes identity a key focus. Additionally, space and place are a significant part of how meaning is made on the screen. For example, the amount of space granted to a character speaks to the nature of their relationships with others (Gianetti and Leach 121). Charlotte Brunsdon's point about film, that it "must make places to show them; what we see on the screen is always a view," applies equally to television ("Towards" 223). Karen Lury argues that the connection between real and television places comes from their similar processes of creation "via spatial (and temporal) relationships" (*Interpreting* 149). Henri Lefebvre argues along similar lines, that space in reality is about how it appears;

> [spaces] are made with the visible in mind: the visibility of people and things, of spaces and of whatever is contained by them. The predominance of visualization . . . serves to conceal repetitiveness. People *look*, and take sight, seeing, for life itself. We build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images. Sight and seeing, which in the Western tradition once epitomized intelligibility, have turned into a trap: the means whereby, in social space, diversity may be simulated and a travesty of enlightenment and intelligibility ensconced under the sign of transparency. (75-6, emphasis in original)

Therefore, whether on-screen or off, space or place are both visual and imagined. The portrayal of space and place on-screen is never inevitable or unconstructed. Time also has a role to play within space and place because, as Doreen Massey explains, space is dynamic rather than static (5). Just as it is difficult to separate space and place, so too does time interconnect strongly with these two concepts in ways difficult to separate out. Without taking space, place, and time into consideration it is too easy to fall into "a view of place

as bounded, as in various ways a site of an authenticity, as singular, fixed and unproblematic in its identity" (5). Time acts in the construction of identity through what Immanuel Wallerstein calls "pastness":

> Pastness is a mode by which persons are persuaded to act in the present in ways they might not otherwise act. Pastness is a tool persons use against each other. Pastness is a central element in the socialization of individuals, in the maintenance of group solidarity, in the establishment of a challenge to social legitimation. Pastness therefore is pre-eminently a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon, always a contemporary phenomenon. That is of course why it is so inconstant. Since the real world is constantly changing, what is relevant to contemporary politics is necessarily constantly changing. Ergo, the content of pastness necessarily constantly changes. Since, however, pastness is by definition of the constant past, no one can ever admit that any particular past has ever changed or could possibly change. The past is normally considered to be inscribed in tone and irreversible. The real past, to be sure, is indeed inscribed in stone. The social past, how we understand this real past, on the other hand, is inscribed at best in soft clay. (Balibar and Wallerstein 78)

Schools are rife with this "social past," (78) seen in photos of previous students, sports trophies on display, and traditional festivities such as proms. These selective indications of previous school life create the school's social past, which then becomes the source of precedents against which current student behaviour can be compared (and found wanting).

Throughout this thesis, spaces and places will be presented in isolation, but this is only for the purpose of narrower analysis; the spaces and places of schools are

interconnected, filled with boundaries as likely to be socially constructed as physically. Lefebvre offers further insights into the nature of space and place. The first is that "any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships -- and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things" (82-83). As Lury observes, "[p]lace, like space . . . is imbued with social relationships" (*Interpreting*, 148), and "these spatial relations are imbued with the effects of economics, politics and power" (148). In other words, spaces are not concrete things, which is why they can be so slippery in terms of meaning, purpose, and access. Secondly, boundaries are not in themselves separations of spaces:

> [v]isible boundaries, such as walls or enclosures in general, give rise for their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity. The space of a room, bedroom, house or garden may be cut off in a sense from social space by barriers and walls, by all the signs of private property, yet still remain fundamentally part of that space. (Lefebvre 86-7)

School events in televisual high schools are an example that illustrates this. The boundaries are temporarily redrawn to create a special event space; however, these temporary and illusory spaces remain fundamentally contained within the school environment. The ability to cross or transgress these boundaries is related directly to identity.

Representations of schools are particularly useful because they often become a character in their own right (Steege 142). Televisual schools in particular become familiar places with their overt trappings of school spirit and school pride granting a sense of personality to the setting. Adolescent characters also produce a sense of familiarity, identification, or nostalgia in viewers, adolescence being a life-stage most viewers are in or have passed through. More significantly, the adolescent characters in these institutions often reveal the artificiality of the conventions and restrictions placed upon them through their struggles to understand, conform, or rebel.

Despite their constructed nature, television's spaces and places often imply a connection to familiar real-world counterparts. Yet because television's realities are overtly constructed, from building sets to shooting and editing, they can reinforce or contest the authenticity of the realities they apparently reflect. In the case of schools on television, these arguably echo other fictional schools more than they represent institutions recognizable to the viewer. This reflects Baudrillard's notion of hyperreality, where "[a]s simulations proliferate, they come to refer only to themselves" (Kellner 9). In other words, we must be leery of taking the discourses contained in television programmes as true reflections of the social mores of their respective eras.

Space and Place in Schools

Many televisual spaces and places offer the opportunity to examine the social construction of identity, so why school settings in particular? For one thing, schools are a prevalent setting in television; as Reisenleitner points out, "[t]elevision's genre conventions have traditionally privileged the familiar locale, the neighbourhood, the private sphere and the intimate interior, reflecting the medium's community-building function" (155). High school is an experience most viewers have in common, making it a familiar setting. For another, real-world schools are a crucial part of socializing young people into adults who fit into the national image of citizenship. Identity formation occurs during the socializing processes happening within schools, and thus identity is a primary focus in students on television as well.

High schools conform with Foucault's concept that institutions produce subjects. As Caputo and Yount put it, "Foucault situated institutions within the thin but all-entangling web of power relations" (4), meaning that institutions play an important role within society's power structures. Caputo and Yount describe "[p]ower" as "the thin, inescapable film that covers all human interactions, whether inside institutions or out" (4). One way that Foucault suggests power plays out in institutions is through what he calls "power-

knowledge," which comes about through institutions gathering information and altering the characteristics of their charges; beyond shaping their charges, the power-knowledge of institutions is "also used to legitimate such changes, as the knowledge gained is deemed to be 'true'" (Marshall 13). Institutions thus shape students into distinct "selves", "but in Foucault's thought these true selves are fictions or constructions" (Marshall 15-6). Some of these familiar educational processes appear on TV screens, making them readily visible, if not always questioning them.

This creation of a "true self" by the power structures of an institution is through "the power of norm" which "demand[s] the productions of truth that its new techniques make possible. Power is no longer repressive but productive" (Caputo and Yount 6). In this explanation, the school helps construct the self rather than repress it. As Judith Butler puts it, "[j]uridical power inevitably 'produces' what it claims merely to represent; hence, politics must be concerned with this dual function of power: the juridical and the productive" (*Gender Trouble* 2). Or as Foucault himself argues, "it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies" (*Discipline and Punish* 217). Nor is it as simple as creating the appropriate "norm" in every student; "[i]n a sense, the power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another" (184). In other words, without norms, there can be no abnormal. Schools and similar institutions use normalization to "watch over the excessive and the exceptional, delimiting the outcasts who threaten the order of normalcy. There are institutions to contain these outcasts and . . . to redirect their course to the latitudes of the normal. Institutions will form and well-adjust the young into supple, happy subjects of normalization" (Caputo and Yount 6). The normal versus the abnormal is a prevalent

theme in televisual school stories as well, although how these categories are treated varies due to the narrative usefulness of outsider characters to the creation of dramatic tension.

Although schools seem to focus on forming individual selves, these selves are intertwined with national identity. Schools are strongly linked to the state:

> educational systems, rather than being merely a dependent variable determined by processes of state-building, profoundly affect consciousness, identity, cultural cleavage, and social antagonism. Thus connections between schooling and state formation are two-way, reciprocal, and interactive. (Apple 5)

If this is the case in the real world, what connection does it have to the screen one? Popular culture is often disregarded, although Michael W. Apple argues that,

> popular knowledge is crucial in the formation and legitimation both of identities and of what counts as 'real' knowledge. Indeed, popular knowledge serves as the *constitutive outside* that causes other knowledge to be called legitimate. The ability of dominant groups and the state to say that something is real knowledge is contingent on something else being defined as merely popular. For this very reason, the popular itself is actually closely linked to the state in often unseen ways and hence cannot be ignored. (11)

Just as normal and abnormal need each other to be defined, so, too, do "popular" and "legitimate" define themselves through mutual opposition (11) Tangentially, while television may not work directly to spread the state's messages, television still serves to broadcast images and discourses of national identity, even if simply through the reproduction of aspects of previous programmes.

This occurs regardless of the intentions of television's creators; nor do viewers passively absorb these discourses. Viewers bring their experiences and knowledge to the

viewing experience. This means discourses being kept alive in the genealogy of tropes and images from other texts are not always accepted as they are, and "is one of the reasons why we need to be cautious of what might be called the productivist or genetic fallacy. This assumes, often wrongly, that the politics of a commodity's production and where something comes from totally determine its ultimate use" (Apple 14). Here Apple is not arguing that viewers are always going to read texts against the grain; there are strong influences on how television is produced and consumed. Still, he points out that "the possibility of difference is always there. We might say that -- because all texts and commodities are 'leaky' -- there is always a surplus of meaning and interpretation that can lead to alternative or oppositional uses" (15). We also must be wary of the meanings that may appear resistant; television's students often appear subversive or rebellious, but these representations may in fact reinforce norms.

More particular to our purposes, Foucault's perspectives on institutions, discipline, and power-knowledge also connect with space and place. How schools are arranged is related to specific attempts to control behaviour, which means that these spaces and places have a direct role to play in identity formation. Schools on television are constructed of limited settings, so the spaces and places that appear and how they appear has significance to the presentation of the story and characters. However, the specific roles these spaces and places play in real life do intersect with their on-screen versions. Foucault describes this identity-shaping process as discipline, which "proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space. To achieve this end, it employs several techniques" (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 141). Foucault identifies three techniques. The first is "enclosure," which is "the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself" (141). This technique, in other words, requires boundaries and a distinct sense of place. Next is "partitioning," in which

> [e]ach individual has his own place; and each place its individual. . . . Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed. One must eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unusable and dangerous coagulation. (143)

Not only, then, are institutional spaces bounded, but also divided, helping to distribute and direct the movements of their inhabitants. The last technique is the use of "functional sites" which "would gradually, in the disciplinary institutions, code a space that architecture generally left at the disposal of several different uses. Particular places were defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space" (143-4), and "rank" (7). In short, spaces have distinctive and multiple roles to play in institutions, and these roles are both powerful and practical.

In other words, in order to produce the desired subjects, institutions create and control spaces not simply to be utilitarian, but as an active part of that production. This means that there are spaces that some individuals can or even must be, while there are others that are not suited to them. From this we can take it a step further, and say that these strategic spaces continually remind the institution's charges of who they are within its bounds, and who they are supposed to be within or without. Students in schools are controlled through the manipulation of space, time, and visibility. They are put together in classrooms with individuals of similar age and/or ability, at set times, and not permitted to move freely; in the classroom, at least, the teacher can see them at all times. This is a particular way in which Foucault argues that institutions create and maintain power: through surveillance. While the surveilling powers may or may not be seen, the students are seen, which means that:

> [d]isciplinary power . . . is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. (187)

This surveillance is part of Bentham's panopticon, upon which Foucault draws. In education, the surveillance and the discipline comes from the school, its adult authority figures, and students' peers. Control through surveillance is particularly effective, according to Foucault, because it causes the surveilled subjects to control their own behaviours:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (202-3).

This is significant because within high schools, there are times and places that students are left to their own devices, or when they create unauthorized uses for less visible spaces. Bullying in US series such as *Glee*, for example, occurs in spaces like bathrooms and locker rooms. However, the school is often represented as less powerful than in Foucault's vision, as bullying also takes place in open corridors. The UK series *Hex* makes use of surveillance throughout to make the school spaces unsafe, although the protagonists begin to subvert this to their own uses in the second season. In the Japanese show *Ouran*, the club room can be relatively private, but other aspects of school life are clearly out in the open, such as the medical examination ("Beware the Physical Examination!" 1.2[2]). In all cases, however, it is not the omnipotent eye of the school system that the students run up against, but the unruly school body; students appear to hold more power than teachers. While this may seem empowering, as the students can gain some control over the school's

[2] Episodes will be identified by title as well as season and episode. “1.2” means the first season’s second episode.

spaces, for the "abnormal" students, this makes the school into a series of dangerous spaces. Yet adult power, state power, and normalizing power are all still at work in televisual school stories. Making the students the active participants in the school story potentially covers up the invisible and insidious forms of power that drive the normalizing forces of the bullies and the successful, popular students within the school.

Schools on TV

Schools abound in television, although not all to the same degree of emphasis. Still, as these are fictional, and as previously discussed are as much reflections of previous texts, what is the value of examining these rather than real-world schools? Television is one pathway for the discourses about identity, normality, and nation. Television series are also highly repetitive, creating special relationships between the viewer, the onscreen location, and the characters. This makes the discourses present in television readily accessible and a part of the cultures who consume them. As Jason Mittell points out, "viewers engage with programming in many different ways, and rarely take all meanings television presents simply as truths to be mimicked and believed. However, there is no doubt that the meanings we see on television do influence us, and form the basis for many behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes" (*TV & US* 269). While it is difficult to know exactly how these meanings or discourses affect viewers, it is still a way that meaning is made in culture. And as these meanings come from the heritage of television and other texts, rather than lived experience or other forms of real-world knowledge, these discourses may be inappropriate to the cultures consuming them; Mittell asserts that "television does not reflect as much as *refract* the world, altering its appearance through its particular techniques and forms of conveying meaning" (270). As school is part of the overt development of identity, these on-screen discourses reveal processes of nation-building and normalization. For example, Mittell comments that

> [n]early all meanings shown on American television might be considered as representing the national character, contributing to a shared sense of America and

> what makes the country distinct . . . even shows that make no claims to address political or historical roots of American society still convey meanings that can represent a shared national culture. (271)

True to discursive building of norms, "[o]ne of the primary ways television functions as part of ideology is in presenting dominant meanings as part of a shared *common sense* that appears natural and universal" (272). Still, rather than ideologies being passed on to viewers who accept them as "common sense," television can be considered a "cultural forum," as multiple viewpoints are presented and complex issues are worked through in fictional form (284). Mittell argues that television programmes can thus operate as "as *cultural rituals*, as viewers return to repeated formulas and plots to work through social anxieties via the process of debate and conflict offered by fictional narratives" (284). School settings on television provide, in more or less didactic ways, space and place for these anxieties and viewpoints to be aired.

Schools on TV from Japan, the U.S., and the U.K.

The texts chosen for this project come from different nations, specifically the U.S., the U.K., and Japan. These are three large markets that export a great deal of television, meaning their television potentially influences other viewerships. Unlike "small nations" like Canada, these three television markets mainly represent their own places and culture, rather than masquerading as others (Byers "Speaking About the Nation" 143). This is not universal, however; not only do some programmes from all three of these countries represent other places, but globalism requires a certain amount of accessibility. Some scholars argue that Japan's success as an exporter of popular culture is the quality of *mukokuseki* (Mouer and Norris 362), or literally "no citizenship," found in its programmes. U.K. television has also been moving toward a more Americanized style of television, while still being recognizably British; the U.S. television industry has poached or remade programmes from other

countries. However, televisual schools from different contexts and countries will be useful "since one of the very best ways of more fully understanding how power works internally and externally in education is to compare what is taken for granted in one's own nation or region with what is taken for granted in another" (Apple 7)[3].

As mentioned above, the three programmes covered in this project are *Glee*, *Hex*, and *Ouran High School Host Club*. These have been chosen both for being televisual school stories (a term that will be defined in the next chapter), and for being part of genres that allow for overt manipulation of space; *Glee* is an American musical, *Hex* a U.K. horror series, and *Ouran* a Japanese animated comedy. As a musical, *Glee* distorts time to allow for inner-fantasy musical performances and uses music to connect separate spaces. *Hex*'s supernatural elements connect disparate times, allow some characters to enter the dreams of others, and build or cross boundaries. *Ouran* uses symbolic distortions of space, time, and the laws of physics to communicate emotions, a common tactic in *anime*. These forms of manipulation reveal the constructed nature of school spaces and how these connect with the construction of national and individual identity. Also, particularly in the case of *Ouran* and *Glee*, these shows enjoy international followings. As John Fiske argues, "the most popular, mainstream, internationally distributed program[me]s" have "the greatest significance in popular culture" (13). With the fragmentation of television audiences, it is debatable how mainstream each programme is, yet the commercial success implied by international viewership indicates that they do provide pleasure and meaning to significant numbers of people. Their discourses about identity, nation, and adolescence are then accessible to members of more than one culture.

I will examine some of these discourses in the following four chapters through analyses of space and place in televisual schools. Chapter One will make connections

[3] Although my own nation is not represented in these three programmes, long exposure to US, UK, and Japanese television has made some of these power structure differences apparent to me.

between the literary school story, a didactic vehicle for representations of national identity, and its televisual cousins. Scholarship on literary school stories has tended to ignore film and television, and television studies have not given school stories on television much attention. This chapter will provide context by demonstrating common features to these programmes. Chapter Two will move into an analysis of space and place by focussing on event spaces such as school dances. The performed nature of sexuality and gender comes into view through examining school dances, where adolescent boys and girls pretend to be adult heterosexual men and women. Adolescents often struggle with appropriate dress, behaviour, and gender roles within the space of the dance, thus participating in an overt process of learning to become an adult. The form of adult being performed reflects culturally specific notions of citizenship. Chapter Three will move to address safe spaces within the school boundaries. The main characters in many of these programmes are, in one way or another, underdogs. For example, in *Glee,* the glee club's members are often bullied, unable to "be themselves" outside of the club. In order for these characters to speak or act freely, they need a sanctuary. For the fourth chapter, focus will shift to dangerous places for the students. At times this danger is physical, but the focus will be on emotional and social dangere. Sometimes these dangerous places are shared spaces within the institution itself. For example, in *Glee* the halls are often the site of bullying, from "slushy facials"[4] to being slammed into lockers. In *Hex*, danger lurks in the dark corners of the boarding school's aging facilities. However, the protagonist Cassie (Christina Cole) also faces both emotional and physical threats in outside spaces such as dance clubs. Similarly, *Ouran's* Haruhi (Sakamoto Maaya) is vulnerable to her astraphobia (fear of thunder) while travelling, but never while at the school itself. These often unfamiliar spaces are where characters are tested the most severely and learn some of the most significant lessons; they are the "real" world within the diegesis, where ideological constructions are less visible and harder to contest. This chapter will be

[4] A slush drink thrown into the face.

followed by a conclusion discussing work done in Television Studies, and suggesting further work to be done studying space and place as well as televisual school stories.

Chapter One: School Stories on the Page and the Screen

Before moving on to analysis of televisual school spaces, some consideration should be given to genre. Schools are common settings across media and genres, but not all have the central role they do in school stories. Just as the school story gets placed into the children's literature category, television programmes about schools get put into the "Teen TV" category. This emphasizes the intended audience over the generic qualities of the diverse works within these categories. However, just as the literary school story (hereafter LSS) category shifts focus to the nature of the stories themselves, so, too is there value in considering the presence of a televisual school story—just as there are subgenres of children's literature, there are subgenres of Teen TV, and I submit that the televisual school story (hereafter TSS) is one of them. This chapter will compare LSS with TSS, as well as identifying their relationships to nation and identity.

The History of LSS and Its Relationship to Nation

The school story is a well-documented tradition in English-language literature, following its origins from *Tom Brown's School Days* through to *Harry Potter* and beyond, with analyses recognizing issues of gender, class, race, sexuality, and imperialism. The LSS has its roots in the very beginning of English children's literature (Reimer 209). It is commonly held that the first school story was *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes in 1857, the story of a young boy attending the prestigious private boarding school Rugby. This seminal school story "was an important source for character types, plot incidents, and motifs for at least a century following its publication and, arguably, left an indelible mark on the generic form itself" (Reimer 215). As Musgrave puts it, "[a] genre is a solution to a perceived literary problem" (256). Musgrave points that early LSS writers Hughes and Farrar "wanted to teach a particular set of values for boys, largely of the upper class" (256). The original UK school story, then, wanted to solve the "literary problem" of representing appropriate upper class boy behaviour. As Reimer notes, private boarding "schools functioned,

proudly and explicitly, as the chief nurseries for the empire in the nineteenth century;" in other words, these LSS "show schoolboys the values, attitudes, and strength of character needed by the future leaders of what was at the time the world's most powerful nation" (215). This makes space and place a key part of the LSS, because the specific boarding school becomes a key player as the site of the transmission of these key imperial ideals.

Teen TV and the TSS

Teen TV, like children's literature, is a genre organized by its target audience, although also peopled with characters of similar age to its audience. It came about originally from "television pop music coverage" that developed into "the teen sitcom" — such as *Saved by the Bell* (1989-93) and then into the "quality teen television drama series" such as *My So-Called Life* or *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Moseley 41). Like the childhood of children's literature, the adolescence of Teen TV has to do with the view of those creating the stories: "many of these shows deal with questions of difference, otherness, increased power and the impact of these on personal and community relationships;" not only that, but "a significant number of them draw on other cult television forms, using supernatural power as a motif through which to explore these concerns" (43). By connecting the supernatural to adolescence, "[m]any shows give the sense that to be a teenager is to be not quite human" (43). This can apply to how the genre is regarded as well, as "teen TV has often been thought of as 'TV for *other* people" (Byers "Many Reals" 192). Teenageness is a "significant 'in-between' period, and teen drama deals with the stuff of adolescent anxiety: friendship, love, sex, and impending adulthood" (Moseley 41-2). This range of topics appears in Teen TV in a variety of countries; however, how they are covered is affected by the industry and cultural environment from which they come (Byers "Many Reals" 198). How these teenagers grow up on the screen, and in which spaces they do it, reflects the view the creators have of how that process should work. In other words, the type of citizen they are

supposed to grow up into is implied by the qualities of Teen TV programmes, and this is particularly true in the TSS. LSS belong to children's literature, a genre designated by its intended audience; a televisual equivalent is "Teen TV," the genre aimed at and featuring adolescents. In some Teen TV we can find features of the LSS, such as didacticism. However, if school stories look backwards and repeat what others have done, then do they transmit appropriate lessons to their audiences?

Children's literature and Teen TV may both often be out of step with social change. Certainly television, with its need to keep advertisers and other stakeholders happy, is often conservative. Whether on the page or on the screen, it must be kept in mind that the lessons being taught are directed by more than just the writer/creative team. This means that trying to directly connect school stories to the lived experiences of students is necessarily an oversimplification. This holds true on television as well. As shown in the discussion of Fiske above, the relationship between text and audience is complex.

The relationship between Teen TV and other texts is also complex. Referentiality and self-referentiality are both common in Teen TV, connecting texts with both pop culture and other similar texts. These connections are often spatial. Visually, with its recurring motif of roses and with its styling, *Ouran* recalls earlier titles *Shoujo Kakumei Utena* (1997) and *Rose of Versailles* (1979-80). The spaces within Ouran Academy do not behave in rigid, realistic ways; the rose motifs and use of symbolic space make the school an unstable reality. *Glee* draws on the sound and visual stylings of a wide range of pop artists and musicals, which at times involves transformation of the school environment as the students move through time and space in a highly stylized and distorted manner. Other more subtle references are to similar shows: for example, *Edgemont* (2000-5)*, Freaks and Geeks* (1999-2000)*,* and *Glee* all feature high schools named McKinley High. This means that these shows use referentiality to create a sense of place in their school settings. As Wee reminds us, this referential tendency predates the 1990s move to quality teen drama,

and "the referencing is not restricted to the occasional passing allusion. Rather, in the 1990s' instance, the referencing functions *as text*. Entire episodes of teen television shows and films engage in self-conscious, highly self-reflexive discussions and commentaries on the nature and conventions of other media texts" (93). The creation of a Teen TV show's diegesis has much to do with its predecessors and other texts.

Further, Teen TV often engages in "extensive generic mixing," in which Teen TV programs "rely on other generic elements substantially" (Ross and Stein 8). This thesis's programmes all engage in generic mixing: *Glee* is a musical as well as a teen drama, *Ouran* is a blend of teen romance and parody, and *Hex* draws heavily on gothic horror and supernatural fantasy as well as the boarding school story.

Generic Qualities of LSS

As with all children's literature, LSS tend towards didacticism (Musgrave 16). Musgrave also notes a difference between the school story and other similar genres such as the "American adolescent problem novel" is optimism, the latter becoming more pessimistic over time (258). Over time there was a move away from these "didactic narratives set in boarding schools" and towards attempts at "documentary account[s] of real schools" (Carpenter and Prichard 470). However, that didacticism has remained a part of children's literature in general; this makes children's literature "a repository . . . of the values that parents and others hope to teach the next generation" (17). By looking at the texts aimed at children, we resort to "reading backwards" to discover what those values are (18). The spaces and places within the narrative and the (in)accessibility of them reflects and reinforces these values. The social contexts and mores of the time period in which a children's literature text is created presumably come to light through this "backwards" reading process.

But is the relationship as simple as that? It is not clear in Musgrave's discussion whether those values pre-exist the literature and simply reflect the society into which the

text is born, or if the values are affected by those texts. Another caveat is that the creators of children's literature and media are not children themselves (Gubar 210). As such,

> adults conceive childhood not in terms of living children, but an assumed child, a 'the child,' onto which they ascribe whatever markers are useful to work out their hopes, fears, and ideologies . . . In this way, childhood becomes defined by adults and children controlled by adult ideologies and constructions, which may or may not bear any resemblance to their lived experiences. (Chappell 283)

In other words, as these are not stories children tell each other, these stories may say more about adult society than they do childhood and adolescence. Further, as mentioned in the previous chapter, texts do not purely reflect reality, and so this backwards reading process is necessarily complicated by the influence of previous texts. As mentioned above, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* set the structure for the school story; current stories not only deal with the social norms of their own times, but also the generic traditions that have come down to them; "[Sally] Mitchell reminds us that these [school] stories do not aspire to reflect reality and are better understood as depictions of fantasy" (qtd in Smith 61). At the same time,

> [t]he critical attribution of realism to school stories has been a recurrent marker of value since at least the publication of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*; now, as then, such a description seems principally to indicate that a narrative has made visible the particular tasks the society of the day has assigned to childhood and adolescence [while more recent school stories] make it apparent that the creation of successful gendered and sexual identities has recently been understood to be a primary task for young people. (Reimer 222)

While the "tasks" do appear to relate to current social requirements and anxieties about children and adolescents, this does not make the school story documentary or realist in nature.

Generic Qualities of TSS

This is also the case for TSS. As mentioned above, Teen TV unsurprisingly focusses on issues considered crucial for adolescents, such as changing roles and fears for the future. Whether or not the school is the central setting of the show, these characters are typically learning about themselves and the world. However, as Ball notes, in Teen TV, "[t]raditional education takes a secondary role to education by peers in teen-based television shows" (5). This is not true in every episode; teachers and other adults still play significant roles in many series, even if they do not appear on screen. Yet it is true that much of the conflict that televisual students face comes from peers rather than authority figures; their own actions also lead to difficult life lessons. Schoolwork does not feature prominently, a characteristic also found in the literary school story, which focus on intra- and inter-school relationships instead (Musgrave 61). Character development occurs through negotiating these relationships more so than overt didactic lessons, like those seen in older programmes such as *The Facts of Life* (1979-88).

Didacticism of the LSS

In the LSS, the didacticism is not focussed on academic learning, but life lessons: “the games, the house and the relationship between master, prefects and boys play so crucial a role in the whole educational process that they in turn become a vital part of the whole structure of feeling embodied in the book” (Musgrave 61). The formulaic parts of the plot such as “school rebellions . . . rivalries between boys . . . [and] false accusations” all allow the young characters to “stand against others or against the majority or even adults. This was a key quality in the version of manliness that the schools were dedicated to teach”

(244). Students identify more with their houses than with the school itself (60). In other words, the inner boundaries of the school are more important than the external boundaries. This leads to the ideal citizen's blend of group loyalty and individualistic bravery from the text's cultural context—in the case of early school stories, the UK. It also reinforces that the school is an isolated and insulated place by de-emphasizing the intrusions of the external world. Ironically, the adult world for which the students are being prepared has little place in the LSS.

Didacticism of TSS

The LSS moves easily into film and TV; as Reimer notes, the LSS has a "comfortable fit . . . into the TV format," due to "the formal features of the genre, which include, as Jeffrey Richards has observed, a 'multiplot structure, a large cast of characters, [and] the intermingling of comedy and drama,' as well as recurrent patterns of action" (221). This means that some generic qualities of the LSS can be seen in the TSS as well.

One of these qualities is didacticism. As mentioned previously, in the LSS, life lessons presented have more to do with house and friend loyalty than with academic challenges. This house loyalty is echoed in the club focus of shows like *Glee* and *Ouran*, or in the in-groups created by special knowledge in *Hex*. This divides the school settings up into multiple spaces and places with different meanings depending upon who spends time in them. Depending on the cultural context, this mixture of individualism and cooperation changes. In *Glee*, life lessons come about in direct and indirect ways. The glee club coach Will Shuester (Matthew Morrison) assigns weekly lessons for students to learn, through music, to be better people. This is not always a musical assignment; when the glee club does not show enough consideration to wheelchair-bound Artie (Kevin McHale), Shuester requires them to spend a week navigating the school in wheelchairs ("Wheels" 1.9). They also learn life lessons through their own mistakes, as in "Mattress" (1.12) when

the glee club risks losing their qualification to compete in amateur show choir competitions by leaving the school to perform in a commercial. In *Ouran*, Haruhi discovers the physical risks of masquerading as a masculine protector and Hikaru (Suzuki Kenichi) learns through interacting with Haruhi how to deal with people other than his twin Kaoru (Fujita Yoshinori) ("The Sun, the Sea, and the Host Club! 1.8) . Life lessons in *Hex* tend to be catastrophic; for example, Cassie's flirtations with Thelma (Jemima Rooper) lead to a falling out and then Thelma's death ("The Story Begins Part 2" 1.2).

Optimism

As noted earlier, Musgrave describes a common trait of the LSS as optimism (258). Despite the challenges the teens of these three series face, the narratives themselves maintain some optimism for the future. *Glee*'s message of being true to oneself and persevering engenders success for at least some of its students; even when they fall short of goals, the characters regain a sense of hope or begin a new path. One example of this is Quinn (Dianna Agron), who loses her social status and even her home temporarily over her pregnancy, and yet is accepted into Yale despite her erratic behaviour at school ("Goodbye" 3.22). Characters who sicken, such as Kurt's father ("Grilled Cheesus"), or attempt suicide due to bullying, such as Karofsky ("On My Way" 2.3), still present the possibility of recovery.

Although latter episodes of *Ouran* feature strife between family members and friends, in the finale, the bright futures of the host club members are confirmed by the adults looking on and making positive predictions ("This is Our Ouran Fair!" 1.26). The show presents the possibility of striking out in unexpected ways and still making peace with the older generation. This is most clear in Kyouya's (Matsukaze Masaya) case, because he demonstrates to his father that he already has the business knowledge and intelligence to surpass his elder brothers, while at the same time running the seemingly frivolous host club ("This is Our Ouran Fair!" 1.26). The optimism is not only for the

futures of these adolescents, but their ability to remain loyal friends amidst family demands. *Hex* is notably not optimistic for much of the series, particularly when first season protagonist Cassie is killed ("Death Takes the Mother" 2.2). Where the second season leaves off, with the school destroyed, the schooling process interrupted, and the Nephilim ultimately undefeated, leaves little room for optimism ("The Showdown" 2.13). Yet the strength of friendship and romantic ties is reinforced by the final scene in this episode, with Ella (Laura Pyper), Leon (Jamie Davis), and Thelma in smiling good spirits, not far from the destroyed school. The non-academic lessons have still been learned, and have served the characters in their emotional development. Although the main plotline remains unresolved, the relationship-building subplots are complete; as mentioned above in Musgrave's description of the LSS, these are the crucial lessons. In *Hex*, these lessons are learned; thus the three characters appear reasonably at peace despite the remaining dangers and the destruction of the school.

School as Protagonist in Both LSS and TSS

Whether on-screen or off, schools build boundaries. These boundaries create within the sites for representing the development of students into adults, through negotiating the fraught spaces of the school. The school becomes a "'little world' preparing its students for other, larger spheres of action . . . Such analogies between microcosm and macrocosm are often motivated by a need for order and comprehension, an expression of the desire to master the environment by placing what is outside inside, where it can be contained or managed" (Reimer 212). In LSS,

> the world of the school is enclosed and self-sufficient, with conflicts resolved within the terms of the world. In this, the school story is characteristic of children's narratives in general: they build pictures of concentrated worlds by explicitly mapping their geographies and boundaries; they demonstrate the principles by which power is

> exercised and distributed; they enact rules that assign morality and immorality to conduct; they institute the marks of belonging and exclusion. (Reimer 212)

As the original setting passed down through LSS is the upper class UK boarding school, this emphasizes the bounded and insular nature of the schools themselves, set away from both home and in isolated locations. These schools play fundamental roles in the story, even acting as protagonists (Steege 142). Thus space and place play an active role in school stories, as places become actors within the narrative.

Teen TV inevitably refers to education, but in many cases the school itself fades into the background. Badmington argues that "[w]ithin teenage culture, education is, quite simply, familiar to the point of invisibility," while being a "predictable" and "formulaic" part of Teen TV (167-8). Yet Douglas and McWilliam offer an example in Australia's *Heartbreak High* (1994-99) that points out the different visibilities possible for the school in a teen programme. While "[i]n early seasons, the classroom is a consistent backdrop for the exploration of adolescent personal and social problems" (153), where "the school is an explicit symbol of belonging" (155), the school fades into the background when the show was altered to be more mainstream and popular (159). This means that whatever life lessons *Heartbreak High*'s teens may be learning, they are not at school; furthermore, "[s]chools are effectively marginalised as less important and/or less interesting than other settings or activities, or only function as interim spaces between other spaces of 'living'" (159). This particular example suggests that not only is the school not an inevitable setting for Teen TV, but that the implications of its presence or absence are significant. If the same growing-up process is set outside of a school, then the school's role in constructing identity is downplayed. Adolescent behaviour is reinforced as inevitable and natural, even uncontrollable by institutions, rather than at least partially constructed by them.

TSS, on the other hand, make the school an explicit part of adolescence. The school's identity is intimately tied to the identities of its students. This is not universal in Teen TV programmes that feature school settings. Many feature adolescent characters but place their focus elsewhere, and the characters rarely seem to be in school—or if they are, the nature of the school is de-emphasized. They could be at any school, anywhere. In the TSS, however, while the school is certainly not the exclusive setting, it is the main one. Not only that, but the school has a distinctive history and personality. In *Hex*, Medenham Hall is a school built upon a former estate that kept slaves and which was a site for witchcraft; its history creates dark destinies for the two protagonists of the series. It matters that they are at Medenham specifically, where the usual struggles of adolescent sexuality take on supernatural significance, and Medenham's dark beginnings lead ultimately to its failure as a school, and then its destruction. If Ouran Academy were not a school of bored rich students, with a history of extravagance and an eccentric dean, *Ouran*'s host club could not exist. *Glee*'s McKinley High may be a more typical US TV school, yet the glee club is connected to the school's past through former glee club member and current teacher Will Shuester, and McKinley is compared to the glee clubs of other schools, such as the upscale private school Dalton Academy or ultra-competitive Carmel High. The schools are given distinct identities of their own which are reflected in their respective glee clubs' performances.

It may be tempting, especially as Teen TV often contains aspects of other genres such as fantasy or horror elements (Moseley 43), to suggest that the significance of the school necessarily changes with the content of the show itself. After all, in shows like *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003)*, Smallville* (2001-11)*,* and *Vampire Diaries* (2009-), supernatural (or supervillainous) forces are faced outside of school grounds. However, this does not make the school meaningless, and the school can maintain its importance regardless of genre. *Hex*'s characters, for example, may fight demons outside of

Medenham Hall, but the most significant conflicts happen in connection to and on the grounds of the school.

Character growth in TSS is not even or consistent, particularly in longer running series. Nor is all pressure to learn exerted by plot events. It also comes from the surrounding school environment, which is often hostile, and from social pressures. In *Glee*, the glee club members are targets of bullying. The teachers and staff seem largely powerless to stop this, and the club members try to maintain optimism, self-belief, and comradeship to combat the bullying. In "Theatricality," for example, the entire glee club appears dressed in Lady Gaga costumes to protect Kurt when he is bullied the hallway (1.20). By occupying the hallway space in larger numbers and in gender-bending or otherwise challenging costumes, the glee club temporarily commands that space within the school. However, this occupation is fleeting, and the hallways remain a space to be negotiated at the student's peril. *Ouran*'s club members are actually quite popular within the school, but do encounter rivals such as the newspaper club ("Covering the Famous Host Club!" 1.14). As several of the host club's members are clever, they handily prevent the newspaper club from doing any damage to their reputation with a listening device planted in the newspaper club office. In fact, the host club controls the school spaces throughout, even accidentally kicking a ball through the window and into the newspaper club president's head. Adult and family expectations are larger threats than other students, as are the idiosyncrasies of the host club members themselves. *Hex*'s Cassie in particular is ridiculed by other students at Medenham for being inadequately sexual, something that occurs within the classrooms that the teachers only somewhat control. Ella moves from the inner circle to ostracism when poison turns her mentally unstable ("Ella Burns" 2.4).

These negative forces are combination of peer pressure and institutional limitations. Although teachers and administrators appear mainly supportive in all three programmes, the school itself becomes an obstacle. This is ironic for an institution

ostensibly for furthering the adolescent's personal development, yet at times it causes the student harm. McKinley High regularly denies the glee club adequate resources. Nor can it do much to protect its students; when Kurt is threatened by Karofsky in "Furt" (2.8), the school cannot act immediately because no one witnessed the event. Although *Glee* uses musical performance to alter space and time in order to allow characters to express crucial emotional moments, it does not give Kurt any permanent escape. This reinforces the power of institutional and peer forces, as Kurt's emotions and understanding of himself cannot alter this situation, or regain any control over the school's spaces. Notably, Kurt chooses instead to leave McKinley for the safer spaces of Dalton Academy ("Furt" 2.8). At Ouran Academy, Haruhi's need to live in drag to repay her debt is threatened by the school tradition of medical exams, which require the boys to remove their shirts ("Beware the Physical Examination!" 1.2). In the above example of Ella's poisoning, Medenham itself is complicit in her admission to a mental institution, which puts her fully in the control of her enemies. The headmaster, the traditional human embodiment of the school, allows Ella to be removed from Medenham. Such protections as she had within the known boundaries of Medenham, and its familiar spaces she knows how to negotiate, are therefore gone.

These obstacles allow the characters to stand against those with more power and louder voices, thus displaying bravery and belief in their own authentic selves. This does not always lead directly to improvement; for example, Kurt's reaction to Karofsky's bullying leads to Karofsky making a death threat in "Furt" (2.8). It still demonstrates that Kurt's willingness to defend his own difference as equally valid to Karofsky's performance of heterosexual masculinity, even at risk to himself; however, this defence leads to him leaving McKinley in order to be himself somewhere safer.

In *Ouran*, although there is an early attempt to bully Haruhi, she neither backs away nor grows angry at the bullying; instead, the boys of the host club evict the culprit

from their club room ("Starting Today, You Are a Host!" 1.1). in other words, the club makes its club room into a safe place for her rather than for the bully. Haruhi's bravery reappears throughout the series, such as when she tries to protect clients from adult men ("The Sun, The Sea and the Host Club" 1.8), and when she speaks up to defend Kyouya from his imposing father's disapproval ("The Host Club Declares Dissolution!" 1.25). In none of these cases does *anime*'s flexible spatiality and symbolic use of space allow Haruhi to avoid these negative forces; here, it is purely dialogue and character action that expresses these barriers and how they are negotiated. This implies moments of seriousness and authenticity, where emotions do not have to be expressed in a symbolic or roundabout way.

In *Hex*, Cassie and Ella must both brave physical and emotional danger throughout. In Ella's case, the school in its entirety turns against her at the end, the students in thrall of the demonic Malachi and adult allies are removed from the grounds ("The Showdown" 2.13). In that case, the same students who treat Ella and Thelma with contempt become possessed with evil. These possessed students become lethal threats rather than social and emotional ones. However, *Hex* does not separate character development from its supernatural elements. The more serious emotional moments are carried out within the generic qualities of the show. This makes it more difficult for the characters to escape the dangers and threats of the setting, undermining the possibility of optimism; being themselves in spite of bullying cannot solve their problems.

Conclusion

LSS are a subgenre of children's literature centred on school settings as sites for the emotional development of young characters. In LSS we can find didacticism, schools as protagonists, bravery and independence performed by children and adolescents, and an optimistic worldview that implies a positive future for those who learn the right lessons. These qualities can also be found in Teen TV shows in the US, the UK, and Japan, which

suggests the possibility of a subgenre of Teen TV, the TSS, which is similar to the LSS. As one of the main distinctions between TSS and other Teen TV is the role of the school, the televisual school itself becomes a key site for analysis. Further chapters will examine how the televisual school's spaces and places interact with the forming identities of adolescent characters.

Chapter Two: Having a Ball: Prom, Parties, and Performativity[5]

As discussed above, pastness is a tool passes nationalism down through the education system, and this comes to play in TSS. Two key aspects of national identity are gender and sexuality. Images of national character contain distinctions between female and male citizens; in the US, the UK, and Japan, the representations of those citizens tend also to be heterosexual. One way that school life on television builds, reinforces, and occasionally contests these images of the gendered, heterosexual national citizen is through the ephemeral spaces created by school events. This comes about through a combination of the construction of new boundaries around the event and what Judith Butler refers to as "heterosexual performativity," in which heterosexuality is reinforced through repetitive performance of its own traditional behaviours (125). This builds on Butler's concept of gender as drag, where all gender is a form of imitation of heterosexual ideals (125). The performative nature of gender roles and (hetero)sexuality becomes markedly visible when a television series features a school dance.

Depictions of the school dance abound on television. In these depictions, the mundane school environment is temporarily altered. The dance lays down new borders, creating a space within which teenaged characters play make-believe as adult heterosexual men and women. These school events are so useful as inductions of characters into school traditions, as well as serving as direct steps towards adulthood, that they often appear in pilot episodes. These events have traditions behind them, and thus become rites of passage for the students into the institution itself as well as a step towards adulthood. These traditions allow pastness to do its work of creating an image of adulthood as if it has always already been there. While in *Hex* the party is a birthday party for the bully Leon (Jamie Davis), not a school tradition, knowledge of Leon's history at these parties is inner circle knowledge that

[5] Portions of this chapter were presented at the 2012 UBC Okanagan Interdisciplinary Graduate Student Association Conference in my paper "Even Cinderella Can't Stay at the Ball: Heterosexual Performativity and the Borders of the Dance in *Ouran koukou hosuto kurabu.*"

Cassie is sneered at for not knowing ("The Story Begins Part 1" 1.1). There is thus a tradition into which Cassie must integrate if she wishes to gain acceptance by joining in on one of these parties. Although they appear much later in the series, *Glee*'s proms are blatantly a part of school traditions, and as such hold much prestige, as evidenced by the focus on the prom king and queen campaigns waged in "Prom Queen" (2.20) and "Prom-asaurus" (3.19). These positions are by election, so the school body chooses the girl and boy who best represent an idealized American adult heterosexual couple. In this way, students can be both affected by pastness -- choosing the pair who most conforms to the continuous image of the white, able-bodied, heterosexual couple in clothing that does not deviate too greatly from past versions of the same attire -- as well as contribute to it, as they enable that continuity. *Ouran*'s second episode dance party event reflects a version of western gender and sexuality, allowing the students to interact with both native and foreign ideas of adult heterosexual behaviour.

Foucault's Heterotopias

All televisual school spaces which have elements of what Foucault calls "heterotopias," or "counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" ("Of Other Spaces" 231). One element of Foucault's heterotopias of particular interest here is that they "always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. Either the entry is compulsory . . . or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications" (235). Schools are not open to just anyone; they are accessible to students and select adults, and after a set period of time or achievements, that access may be partially or completely removed. Sarah Cantrell refers to heterotopias

> of confinement [like] prisons, barracks, boarding schools like Hogwarts, psychiatric hospitals, and ultimately, cemeteries. Insofar as heterotopias are invisible to those outside their confines, these spaces function as 'no wheres'— spaces that conceal the

> so-called unsightly from public view, since in Foucault's analysis these spaces house the sexually active, the imprisoned, the mentally ill, or the dead. (199)

Adolescents are considered incomplete in their identities and so are kept within institutional walls until able to perform adult social roles. Before they can deal with the outside world, however, they must learn how to deal with the roles available within school boundaries. Performance, in the sense of knowing what gestures and acts to perform, affects how students deal with a school's heterotopic nature (199). Yet although these schools are separated from other places, "heterotopic spaces also exist in relationship to the places beyond their borders. The heterotopia's difference, Foucault argues, enacts a commentary on those places where daily routines occur . . . the heterotopia's strangeness makes visible what entrants are unwilling or unable to see in their own world" (199).

This commentary is particularly pronounced in the case of special event spaces, as these are not accessible to all students, much less to the public. The gestures permitted within event spaces differ from those in other school spaces; attire must fit within specific parameters, and there are consequences for performances that stray too far from heteronormative romantic relationships. One notable way in which this happens in each programme is through evicting characters from the event space; crossing borders in either direction makes them apparent, and the fact that these borders can be closed gives them significant power.

Glee offers the most traditional school dance of the three. This type of event is very common in US shows; for example, *Freaks and Geeks* and *Smallville* (2001-2011) have homecoming dances in their pilot episodes, and *My So-Called Life* (1994-5) has a "World Happiness Dance" ("The Life of Brian" 1.11). In *Glee*, the junior prom episode "Prom Queen" (2.20) shows the process of a US prom, its elections, and the significance of such traditional events. As outsiders, the glee club members already have barriers to participation. Kurt is the most obvious example, in that he is openly gay. The two closeted LGBTQ

characters, Santana (Naya Rivera) and Karofsky, come to the prom as a couple to continue hiding their true sexualities as a lesbian and a gay man respectively. Artie, dateless due to a fight with his girlfriend, chooses instead to get into trouble with Puck (Mark Salling) by spiking the punch.

In this episode, Kurt's performance as a gay man involves him in the vital selection of prom dresses, educating the girls on what they should wear. This means that he takes on an authoritative role on the norms of adult attire and performance; at the same time, his fashion sense challenges the norms he is encouraging others to follow. As will be seen with Haruhi in *Ouran*, boys sometimes inform girls of what is proper femininity. Ironically, Kurt's own attire does not fit the situation, as he chooses to wear a kilt. Although a kilt is actually masculine attire, at this American high school dance it is misread as feminine (2.20).

As with other televisual school dances, the gym is transformed, and live entertainment is provided. In this case, the glee club provides the music, rotating members so that they can dance with their dates (2.20). This means two kinds of performance are happening at once, and the performers overlap both as entertainment and as the entertained. Not only are they expected to enact the role of the romantic heterosexual couple, they must also emulate successful pop singers -- another adult role. This highlights the role of performance itself, a thread throughout the series.

Although there is no negative reaction from the junior class to the stage performances, the gender/sexuality performances of multiple students lead to an unusually high number of expulsions from the dance. Kurt is voted prom queen, an act of bullying that sends him from the gym in mortification. This act also sends out Santana, the closeted lesbian, who was also vying for the crown; simultaneously, Quinn (Dianna Agron), who was insincerely partnering Finn in order to win, also leaves the dance. Before this, however, both Jesse (Jonathan Groff) and Finn were evicted because they got into a

physical fight. This also reflects acceptable adult behaviour, particularly when it comes to couples. Finn's jealousy and feelings for more than one girl make him an unsuitable heterosexual partner, and Jesse is too old to be there. Artie is evicted for attempting to spike the punch. Not only has he failed to bring a date, he is not acceptably masculine as he is in a wheelchair as well as being nerdy; therefore, the dance is not a place for him.

As is typical with these evictions, most of the evicted return to the dance after a certain equilibrium has been reached. Kurt decides that he will not be excluded, and returns to openly dance with Blaine (Darren Criss) amongst their friends. Santana and Quinn return after they are told to be more honest and to try to enjoy the event for what it is — a memorable night in adolescence. Artie is revealed not to have actually spiked the punch, and released back into the dance. Notably, the two who resorted to overt violence — not bullying, but fisticuffs — are not allowed to return at any point. Although subversive couples return to the overtly heterosexual space of the dance, ultimately they imitate the heterosexual couples around them. Kurt and Blaine in particular dance in the typical close-hold of a romantic couple, amongst others doing the same. As will be seen in *Ouran*, the challenge to the heteronormativity of the dance is incomplete.

By contrast, *Ouran*'s dance party ("The Work of a High School Host" 1.2) is problematic from the beginning within the traditional image of the heterosexual couple in Japan. Such dances do not exist as part of the Japanese school system. The club itself dodges stereotypical Japanese stoic masculinity by making its members cater to the needs of its female clientele in an imitation of western chivalry. In turn, the clientele make demands of the boys, rather than doing things for them as is more typical in representations of Japanese femininity; they also reveal passions for startlingly erotic fantasies. However, the clientele are still very feminine and upper class in speech and dress.

There may not be a tradition of dances in Japanese schools, but the dance party is a trope in *shoujo anime*[6]. In *Hana Yori Dango* (1996-7) and *Revolutionary Girl Utena* (1997), a similar dance party for affluent youths demonstrates the punishment for those stepping outside of their class, race, and gender boundaries. *Hana Yori Dango* features a scholarship student at a wealthy school, but unlike Haruhi, Tsukushi encounters severe bullying. When she dares attend a party with the wealthy students, she is pushed into a pool by other girls. This allows one of her love interests to play the chivalrous white knight, rescuing her to the mortification of her attackers. ("One Night Cinderella" 1.6) *Utena* does not see the cross-dressing protagonist Utena punished, but instead the foreign-born Anthy wears a dress gifted to her which is then dissolved in a spray of champagne ("On the Night of the Ball" 1.3). Utena then takes on the princely role, rescuing Anthy and thwarting the attempt to exclude her. However, *Ouran* turns this around. Haruhi's drag is not directly threatened, and the club clientele are very fond of her; she is not bullied or unwelcome. Instead, it is the hosts themselves who remind her of her class difference. This in particular happens when they attempt to bribe her with expensive food, and patronizingly find her reaction adorable. Not only is she not performing the right gender, she is out of her element socially.

The interaction of lighting, sound and *mise-en-scène* delineate the borders of the dance within the school. For the dance party itself, I will focus on three sites in particular: the hall where the dance takes place, the change room, and the corridor and classroom. the "real" heterosexual couple: Kanako (Kuwatani Natsuko) and Tooru (Tasaka Hideki).

Kanako is a client of the host club, but unlike other clients she moves boldly from host to host. Thus she is disloyal even to fantasy boyfriends like the hosts as well as to her fiancé Tooru. Tooru is described by members of the host club as timid and dull. In other words, Tooru is failing to perform forthright and confident masculinity. The host club gets

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6 *Shoujo anime* is a genre of anime that features and caters to adolescent girls. The word *shoujo* means "young girl."

entangled in a fight between Kanako and Tooru when it puts on a dance party. This event is not part of the school's traditions; in fact, it is only for the hosts and their clientele. However, as in school dances in other texts, it requires special preparation for characters to participate. Haruhi must learn how to lead a female partner, so Kanako teaches her. In the process, Tamaki comes up with a scheme to get the couple back together at the dance party.

The hall where the dance party is held is quite grand, but no more so than the rest of the school. Instead, its temporary transformation into a glittering, magical space fits it into the tradition of television school dances. Lighting builds the space of the dance: a spotlight draws attention to Tamaki as he welcomes the guests from on high, and the chandelier glow reflects reflects off every surface. Images of roses are used heavily in *Ouran* to emphasize beauty; in the hall, the dancers are shown with rose-shaped overlays. The romantic waltz music is diegetic, which is not typical of the series, indicating this is a unique space.

Yet despite the grandeur of the hall, much of the *mise-en-scène* is constricted. Nearly every angle reveals walls and ceiling, showing the hall as an enclosed space. For example, shots from right next to the hosts create a space on the stairs just for them. Haruhi, standing at the back of the room, is up against a pillar and framed by girls waiting to dance. As Tuan points out, having space to move represents freedom and power (52). The hall is clearly large enough to allow room for many couples to dance, yet this restricted framing argues for a lack of freedom. Characters can only perform in certain ways here; for example, despite the gender number imbalance, none of the girls dance together.

While the lighting and sound create the space of the dance party, its borders are not made clear until they are crossed. As in the *Glee* example above, this occurs through evictions. Notably, this occurs just as Haruhi and Kanako are about to dance. Although they danced together while Haruhi was learning, this public performance does not fit into the heteronormative traditions being imitated around them, and Haruhi's method of departure is dramatic: the other hosts pick her up and carry her at speed from the hall.

She is taken to the change room. Unlike the hall, the change room has no magical atmosphere. The lighting is high key and the space itself unadorned, while the music is non-diegetic and descriptive as it is throughout the series. Here Haruhi is pushed into changing into feminine attire as part of the scheme to reunite Kanako and Tooru. The boys provide the dress and wig, and even apply her makeup. In other words, Haruhi needs help to perform as a girl. While Haruhi changes, a martial drumbeat emphasizes a sense of determination and effort, and her movements are similarly crisp. She is again framed in a confined way, surrounded by the boys, as she sits before the mirror.

However, everything changes when Tamaki enters the change room. His entrance brings on another staple of television school dances, the transformation of the girl into a young lady. One of anime's more distinctive tactics is its use of symbolic spaces and imagery, in this case demonstrating Haruhi's beauty and Tamaki's reaction to it. The change room itself disappears in favour of bright light and roses. Editing stretches time here, slowing Haruhi's rise from her chair. While Haruhi is considered cute as a boy, there is no narrative attention paid to her formal attire as a host. It is only when she imitates femininity that the show places this intense attention on her. As she cannot be revealed as a girl, this transformation is kept safely from public view in the change room. Yet because of this privacy, Haruhi can promptly undercut the significance of her own transformation by complaining as she staggers from the room in high heels, demonstrating that femininity does not come any more naturally to her than masculinity does.

In contrast to the previous two places, the classroom and corridor are dark and heavily shadowed. The only illumination is external light streaming in through the windows. Shots are framed more loosely, allowing more space. As Tuan observes, space may mean freedom but it also means exposure and vulnerability (54). Haruhi, Tooru, and Kanako lack certainty in this less bounded space. Unlike elsewhere, the corridor and classroom are quiet; at first there is no music at all. Non-diegetic music resumes with a slow, strings-heavy piece

as Tooru and Kanako each discuss their feelings. They are separated, yet the music, their voiceovers, and a pan from one space to the other make the connection between them. While here, too, the *mise-en-scène* traps characters, framing them within windows and doors, it also opens up into wider spaces. Kanako walks in on Haruhi and Tooru, misunderstands the situation, and flees down the long corridor; Tooru chases her out onto the school grounds, an even more open and vulnerable space.

Interestingly, although they do not run into the hall, they inadvertently enter the space of the dance; or rather, the borders of the dance expand to include them. Spotlights capture them, allowing the dance's participants to step outside and see them. Tamaki grants them the last waltz, forcing Tooru to act in an appropriately masculine manner and take the lead. When Kanako accepts Tooru's request to dance, the waltz music re-emerges, another sign that the borders of the dance have encompassed them. Here the couple affirms their feelings for each other, performing as an actual heterosexual couple before the hosts and their clientele, who have been imitating even that imitation. They are rewarded for their correct performance of heterosexuality when Kanako is selected queen of the dance.

Yet Haruhi and Tamaki remain disruptive forces. As queen, Kanako wins a kiss on the cheek from Haruhi. This upsets Tamaki, who leaps in to stop the kiss. A prank by other hosts sends him bumping into Haruhi, making her instead kiss Kanako on the lips. This moment is framed by roses and the trill of a harp, representing it as beautiful despite the startled expressions on the girls' faces. This does not damage the heterosexual relationship of Kanako and Tooru, who remain framed side-by-side, but it ends the dance party ambivalently. The playful use of the roses hints that perhaps a non-heterosexual couple could be lovely, too.

Hex is not so certain about the possibility of a lovely non-heteronormative couple. In

Hex the ideal heterosexual couple is socially and sexually sophisticated, affluent without being overtly traditional, and far from conservative. This couple exemplified by Gemma (Zoë Tapper) and Troy (Joseph Morgan), who at least look the part, despite Gemma protesting that she is not romantically attached to Troy.

School dances do not appear quite as commonly in UK's televisual schools, but they do exist. For example, in *The Inbetweeners* (2008-10), there is an unofficial a pub party ("First Day" 1.1), which is not sanctioned by the school (due to underage drinking), yet the homeroom teacher is fully aware of its existence. In the same season, an official school dance occurs, but it is specifically modelled after the US tradition of school proms, and thus not part of the UK school traditions ("X-mas Party" 1.6). *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2005) makes a great show of its Yule Ball, which is a school tradition, and requires dance practice, knowledge of traditions, and proper attire. However, in *Hex* there is no such traditional school event, so the students must create their own dance parties, with the requisite struggling with appearance and behaviour included.

In *Hex*, the primary judgement by peers of a student's maturity is sexual knowledge and experience. This comes into play in the parties. Cassie attempts to integrate herself into the social hierarchy, and to behave forwardly with Troy. Thelma conversely does not try to participate in that hierarchy. As the apparently lone lesbian in the school, she can gain no advantage from the approval of the in-group. She can move into their spaces, but is generally ignored. However, that invisibility leads to Thelma's death. She is the most vulnerable because of her non-traditional sexuality. Her progress through the school and through the social rituals of young people cannot lead where those traditions do; therefore, she is the ideal prey for Azazeal (Michael Fassbender). Ironically, she remains a part of the school itself, haunting it. She gains the ability to move freely but to be unseen and

untouched. Notably, the only other known gay character, Tom (Samuel Collings), also dies ("Seven Deadly Sins" 2.12).

The first party of *Hex* is Cassie's invitation to Leon's birthday party at a dance club ("Pilot" 1.1); although it is not a school dance, it begins with girls worried about what they will wear. Gemma is so concerned she ponders having her mother send up better clothing; later, Cassie tries on various outfits in her bedroom, dissatisfied with her perceived lack of sexuality. Notably, Thelma disapproves of this participation in the popular group's activities, and thus gives little support to Cassie. Although the dance club is not a transformed space, as it is performing its defined role, it offers a site for behaving differently. Cassie tries to joke around with Roxanne and to flirt with Troy; neither of these confident moves are received positively. The club itself restricts visibility, dark with coloured lights flashing, and people in motion filling most of its spaces. This lack of visibility, along with her sexually mature attire, enables Cassie to be more bold, but she does not fit into this unfamiliar space. By contrast, Roxanne's green shirt matches the green lights behind her when she lies to Leon to send him after Cassie out of concern over the shared secret that has led her to be friendly to Cassie in the first place. She visually fits in, and her knowledge of this mature, sexual arena means that she can manipulate events within it. In this same scene, Cassie is shown sitting alone, framed by dancing bodies that intermittently block her from view -- present, but not participating in the event. She also misinterprets Leon's sexual innuendo, smiling and going along with the conversation until he kisses her. Leon's persistence leads her to leave the space. In the liminal space of the club hallway, with its red and blue lights making visibility poor, she is even more threatened by him and her telekinesis causes a small explosion.

Her telekinesis, just as her psychic visions, makes Cassie an outsider. As Karin Beeler points out, Cassie's name connects her to the mythical Cassandra, the doomed psychic madwoman (63); yet Beeler also notes that the source of the madness is not

womanhood: "it is important to note that Cassie's as well as the mental instability of Cassie's mother and Rachel McBain appear to be attributable to the powerful, patriarchal influence of Azazeal. He apparently possessed all of these women" (64). Similarly, Leon's masculine presence causes Cassie's supernatural powers to appear. This means that not only are same-sex relationships suspect in *Hex*, but heterosexual ones are not necessarily good either.

Leon's birthday party is bookended by the second party in the same episode, this one held at someone's house. Cassie is gaining confidence in her powers and in her ability to dress for the situation. The dressing scene is queered by her helping Thelma into tight pants, with suggestive puffing from both of them. They also discuss plastic surgery, with Cassie pressing on her nose to make it look slimmer in the mirror, while Thelma explains "designer vaginas." These are two young women planning out their womanhood and how they want to perform it.

Notably, while Cassie is resisting her outsider status, Thelma appears to embrace it; "[e]ven before Thelma dies and is transformed into a ghost, her appetite and her role as an outsider reinforce *Hex*'s emphasis on the alienated teenager, a reality that she shares with her friend Cassie but which she also expresses in a different way because of her lesbian identity" (Beeler 66). Beeler notes that Thelma is able to "resist the heteronormative world around her," for example by "provid[ing] a witty comeback" whenever other students mock her (67). She resists images of femininity as "a visually powerful illustration of appetite; she is always eating food, and she has a sexual interest in women" (62). Notably, Thelma is resolutely herself during this second party, eating and flirting with Cassie. She does not change herself in order to fit in.

This party's space is brighter and more friendly, with the coloured lights dampened by pale carpeting and less contrast. The diegetic music has the lyrics "come as you are," emphasizing more freedom than at the dance club. Here Cassie is jealous of Troy and Gemma, and annoyed by Leon clearly telling his friends lies about her, but shows less

distress than earlier in the episode. Instead, she uses her telekinesis deliberately to trip Leon, sending him into Gemma, who spills her wine on Troy's shirt. This serves as an incomplete eviction from the party for Troy, who goes to clean up; mainly it serves as a chance for Cassie to try to flirt with him in the bathroom when he has his shirt off. She tries two tactics here: one, offering advice on how to clean the shirt, as being a girl presumably makes her more able to do the task; and two, making a joke about him being gay for having "a physique like that" while being able to do laundry. Despite her bolder moves in this party, all she manages to do is annoy Troy and hurt Thelma's feelings. Thelma is refusing to be anyone but herself, but Cassie is trying to alter herself, and disregarding Thelma's needs in the process.

This leads to the true eviction, when Thelma leaves the party, and Cassie chases after her. Thelma reveals she has been taking Cassie's jokes about "giving up blokes" seriously. She accuses Cassie of having feelings for her, but just not accepting them; Cassie tries to reassure her that they are best friends. Thelma runs off from her then, because her feelings are not only unreciprocated, but not taken seriously. Also, while Thelma is remaining authentic to herself, she does not believe Cassie is doing the same, making them belong to separate places. Thelma's death, made to look like suicide, occurs back on school grounds; she does not have a place in the party, but her position at the school has also become untenable. Cassie's inexpert performance of heterosexual femininity thus leads to disastrous consequences that cross spatial boundaries and affect all around her; unlike in other events, she is not the one who is evicted -- Thelma is.

Conclusion

Within the borders of the television school dances in *Glee, Ouran*, and *Hex,* there is little room for transgression. It is a space for heterosexual couples who fit into specific cultural norms, or who imitate other culture’s norms. The characters' struggle with the requirements of the dance reveals that heterosexuality and gender roles require knowledge and practice. Not only this, but

class and race are also barriers to fitting the perfect image. The presentation of characters attempting to fit this image reinforces its significance and desirability. Making the performance of heterosexuality apparent as performance contests the possibility of its authenticity. While television school dances tend to affirm heterosexuality's normalcy, they also make its performativity visible, leaving just a little space open for alternate possibilities. Most importantly, they are temporary spaces, heterotopias, that require certain rituals and gestures for entrance, and thus create spaces within the school that both escape its normal institutional power and profoundly reinforce it. Notably, the UK examples often step outside the school itself. However, the school's peer hierarchy remains in place, and adults often appear aware of these parties. The party might leave the school, but the school does not leave the party. As the boundaries are not changed as radically in the outside parties, they serve as points of comparison with the institutional examples. This more ambivalent view of school traditions like parties held outside school grounds reflects *Hex*'s sense that there are no truly secure and safe spaces. Rather than imitate adult life in regulated spaces, UK youths go straight into actual adult spaces. This means the consequences are often worse. However, the hurdles are generally similar: if the student doesn't know what s/he is doing, then s/he does not fit and is likely to be evicted from the party's temporary space. Performances must take place, and poor performances will lead to hostile responses. This intensified heteronormative performativity can take place specifically at the dance party, not in other more mundane school spaces; the lessons taught here about gender, sexuality, norms, and the consequences of deviation from them, are significant.

Chapter Three: Sanctuaries and Performativity[7]

"What's that saying? The show's gotta go all over the place, or something?" Finn, *Glee* ("Night of Neglect" 2.17)

The previous chapter examined how school events teach adolescent characters heteronormative performativity. This was made possible by the temporary boundaries and ephemeral spaces of school-related events, where pastness is the weapon of choice for nation-building discourses. However, there is another type of performance which has the same always already quality (pre-determined but accepted as natural) as pastness, which is performance to reveal the authentic self. As different performances happen in different places, the "show" does go "all over the place," as Finn says in *Glee* ("Night of Neglect" 2.17). This potentially vulnerable performance requires sanctuaries within the school, such as club spaces and private bedrooms. These sanctuaries are necessary because bullies and other dangers prowl the halls, changerooms, bathrooms, and even classrooms in the shared areas of the school. These bullies reinforce conformity to the image of the appropriate citizen of the school as determined in part by the school population, but also by the school's pastness, and by the broader culture. However, the sanctuaries within the school allow students to "be themselves" without fear of repercussion. Looking at the sanctuaries within the school settings of *Glee*, *Ouran*, and *Hex*, it becomes apparent that space and place allow for the expression of an authentic self that challenges dominant discourse while at the same time bolstering by covering over the construction of self; after all, if the self is waiting for the right space in which it can be revealed, it must have been there all along. The genres of the three different series -- musical comedy, animated romantic comedy, and horror/fantasy -- allow for not only performativity but varying degrees of *performance*; in specific,

[7] Portions of this chapter were presented at the 2016 UNBC Grad Conference in my paper "Why Don't You
Sing About It? Space and Place and Identity Construction on *Glee*."

safe places within McKinley High, Ouran Academy, and Medenham Hall, students can take on roles both authentic and experimental.

Spotlight on the Self

Performance and the authentic self would seem to be at opposing ends; after all, if a self is authentic, it does not require an artificial act of performance. However, as Abigail de Kosnik observes, performance (she uses the term "theatricality") has come to relate to the authentic self on television, where

> [n]ot only do TV characters engage in theatrical performance regularly, but when they perform, they also transform themselves. That is, primetime television programs of the past few years have been rife with instances of individuals achieving self-realization ("finding themselves") through acting, singing, and/or dancing in front of audiences – not just for television audiences at home, who watch their antics from a distance, but for audiences who exist within the narratives of the show and who are the performers' immediate witnesses. In other words, these (fictional) people consciously make spectacles of themselves in the eyes of others, and by exposing themselves in this way, they realize and reveal core truths about themselves. (370)

In other words, activities such as singing, dancing, and acting become a process of uncovering a hidden but natural self. De Kosnik specifically discusses the growing prevalence of this theatricality on U.S. television; the relationship between performance and the authentic self, not surprisingly, varies between programmes of different cultural origins. *Glee* offers the promise of a threatened, but relatively stable authentic self, which can berevealed and defended through musical performance. *Hex* ambivalently

treats the underlying authentic self as a trap, intertwined with both destiny and history, and yet also something to be defended. Performance in *Hex* is closely linked to the attempt to transform, through sexual sophistication and appropriate understanding of outward appearance, into a confident adult. By contrast, *Ouran* has a more subdued version of the authentic self. Here, performance is an escape into identities and forms of expression not always compatible with cultural and familial expectations. Although de Kosnik's use of the term theatricality is apt for shows like *Glee*, here the term performance will be used, and in a broader sense to include acts such as altering physical appearance or public behaviour.

Performance and National Identity

National identity is created and reinforced through repetition and performance. TSS play a part in this discursive repetition, as they belong to "banal nationalism" with "everyday settings that are imbued with significance that resonates with national imagery" (Blandford et al xv). Nations and national identity "may then, as Bhabha put it, be seen as a never-ending 'narration' in which, in contemporary culture, the media play a crucial part" (Blandford and Lacey 2). Even in the individual self-realization of the students in all three programmes, the nation-building project is revealed by the limitations it places on the selves being realized. Within each programme there is also possible variation in those national identities; as Hogan puts it, "within a single nation there is not a single national identity, but rather multiple competing and complimentary [*sic*] discourses of national belonging" (194). Some of these competing discourses play out in the TSS, particularly as "national identities are not stable across times, places and social contexts, but rather are constantly in flux," and therefore just what constitutes the ideal future citizen in the televisual school setting will vary over time and even within a particular programme as

older and newer discourses come into contact within the narrative (194). This allows for the possibility of challenging certain discourses about identity, and yet

> [i]t is crucial to acknowledge, however, that even as individuals shape discourses of national identity, these discourses frequently serve to reinforce dominant social norms by legitimating ideal types of individuals and actions. Such discourses are, in other words, both 'structured and structuring'; they reflect and reproduce unequal power relations. (194)

Furthermore, national identities are formed through delineating who does not fit as much as by who does: "narratives of nation frequently exclude not only those outside the nation (foreign 'Others'), but also marginalised groups within the nation (internal 'Others'). Exclusionary discursive practices both mirror and help maintain the material disadvantage of marginalised groups, and contribute to the establishment and maintenance of social boundaries between the imagined 'us' and the imagined 'them'" (195). These discourses of the acceptable and the unacceptable are often represented on the screen by teacher/student clashes, or peer-versus-peer disagreements. As the students seek to perform either their expected roles or their authentic selves, which may or may not overlap, they are confronted with the discourses about who they are permitted to become. Some students are at least temporarily removed from the sanctuaries within the school, or from the school entirely, indicating there are limitations on the sorts of selves that can be realized within.

The Need for Safe Spaces

Incompatibility with dominant discourses drives the characters in these three series into the enclosing borders of sanctuaries where they can find acceptance and support. At *Glee*'s McKinley High, glee club members are bullied openly in many shared spaces in the school, such as in the hallways or in the changerooms. This makes mobility

through the school a challenge. Mobility -- movement through space -- is an indicator of power and wealth (Tuan 52). This mobility must be easy and voluntary to serve as that indicator; displaced and marginal peoples are not always empowered by mobility, for example. In *Glee*, students lose mobility through the school spaces because they are different from dominant groups. The more open glee club members are about their talents and quirks, the more they are singled out by bullies from higher up in the social hierarchy. The most obvious example of this is Rachel Berry (Lea Michele), who aggressively demonstrates her musical abilities whenever possible, only to receive hostile reactions. As other glee club members become more open about their activities, they receive social consequences. For example, jocks like Mike (Harry Shum Jr) or Finn (Cory Monteith), who reveal hidden passions for music through joining the glee club, find that places of what appeared to be inclusion become sites of bullying and threats. Mike is at first a jock and a typical heterosexual football player, but through the glee club indulges his great passion for dance. When Finn joins the glee club due to his singing ability, the locker room becomes a site of continual allegations of homosexuality, threats, and actual violence by other players to make it an uncomfortable space for jocks who dare to also sing and dance.

In *Ouran*, the host club actually suffers little bullying. The members are popular, good academic performers, attractive, and with the exception of Haruhi, wealthy. Yet these students offer the possibility of hidden authentic selves in an indirect way through their continual performative acts. The host club is an anomaly that allows for anomalous acts because there are no such clubs in real Japanese schools; in reality, host clubs are adult member-only establishments. The pressures on *Ouran*'s hosts and their clientele come from family and society more so than from academic demands. Rather than school, these students are trying to escape external pressures. Additionally, Haruhi needs to play a male

role unless she is alone with other club members, so the club room outside of host club hours becomes the place where she and the others can stop protecting her secret temporarily. Although Haruhi performs as male at school, at home she is an apron-clad skilled cook and housekeeper; in other words, a traditional Japanese image of an ideal future wife and mother.

Ouran self-referentially treats itself as *shoujo manga*; *shoujo* have a history of representing feminine national identity that includes "a wistful privileging of a recent past or free-floating form of nostalgia" (Napier *Anime from* Akira 118). Napier comments that "many Japanese are able to project issues of identity construction onto the attractive and unthreatening figure of the *[shoujo]*" (120). Even as Haruhi hints at these issues through unconventional gender presentation, "the cooking trope is an important one . . . The underlying message seems to be that even in a frighteningly changeable world, women cooking suggests a fundamentally stable social order" (155). In Haruhi's case, cooking is a performance she does out of sight -- it is part of her hidden "authentic" gender and sexuality that she cooks for her father and for the host club's male members.

Similarly, Tamaki can be his overly emotive, part-French self when the club room is acting as a sanctuary. He is less affected by the boundaries of the club room, because he will be emotive in other school spaces, something expected of him because of his foreign heritage and upbringing; at the same time, he is much more vulnerable in the sanctuary. Yet at times of crisis, Tamaki reverts to a recognizable version of the *shoujo manga* romantic male lead. Under his frenetic emotions and committed role-playing, Tamaki has an authentic male heterosexual self.

In contrast, *Hex* does not have a club room as a sanctuary. Medenham Hall is a boarding school, so its students must face their problematic relationships whenever they step out of their bedrooms. Amongst Medenham Hall's student population, the

crime greater than homosexuality is no sexuality at all; Cassie is more bullied for her lack of sexual prowess than Thelma is for being a lesbian. On the other hand, Ella is ancient and experienced, and is looked down upon for perceived mental illness instead. In both cases, the general student populace and staff are unaware of the supernatural conflicts going on at Medenham. Cassie, Ella, and their allies keep these events and their own natures secret. In order to do this, they need private spaces in which to speak. Their bedrooms serve these roles, as well as being places Cassie and Ella can negotiate the pitfalls of performing as normal young English women when the former is sexually inexperienced and naive, and the latter is too accustomed to battle to be comfortable with romance.

Not All the World's a Stage: Performance, Space, and Place

As seen above, in all three series the protagonists need sanctuaries from the hostile world of the rest of the school. These sanctuaries offer opaque, but not impermeable, boundaries, which allow those within to interact with, and potentially resist, pastness. This is particularly true when these spaces are not being used as originally intended; in *Ouran*, which turns an unused music room into a club space; *Glee*'s sanctuaries are threatened by others wanting the spaces, meaning that they are potentially multipurpose. School traditions and mainstream social mores can be disregarded within the sanctuaries because they are less judgemental spaces and offer less dangerous consequences for missteps and rebellion. They are ultimately sites of learning, teaching students how to "be themselves" and to have solidarity with likeminded others.

As a musical, *Glee*'s "being themselves" is derived from musical performance by the glee club members. This is part of its inclusivity; "if Glee's exuberant musical form teaches us anything, it is that dance steps, show tunes, mash-ups, and queer vibes have the potential to shake up and scramble identities, stereotypes, genres, television clichés—and

perhaps even ideological formations" (Jacobs 321). Key to this performance is the presence of a sanctuary; *Glee* has two of them. The first is the rehearsal room, the place where the glee club members meet to receive lessons from teacher Will Shuester as well as to prepare for competitions. It represents a safe space for misfits and mainstream students alike to express themselves. Here students can be amongst others who understand and play around with songs not likely to be performed on stage. Notably, while it has permanent risers, the rehearsal room is designed to be used more fluidly than the auditorium; chairs are often moved around or used in impromptu performances, and various musical instruments come and go, along with musicians, depending on what is being performed. Its cluttered texture, with posters and decorative panels on the walls, emphasizes a homey feel as well as a utilitarian one. Although a spotlight is used in the choir room in the case of "The Rhodes Not Taken" (1.5), generally the lighting in rehearsal room scenes is high-key. A wide angle lens is often used here to show the ensemble cast; Steadicam shots reveal individual reactions, but in a brief and loose way that does not disrupt the deep focus approach that emphasizes the group.

In contrast, the auditorium has a more fixed nature. Although it has a typical stage with room to move and the ability to bring in sets and lighting, that transformation is not usually shown on-screen, reflecting a more fixed and blank atmosphere than the rehearsal room. Here the seating is fixed and the proscenium arch frames the action on the stage, creating boundaries; performers rarely perform in the seating area. Even during scenes outside of public performances, the house lights are rarely used, instead favouring low-key lighting. This emphasizes the auditorium as a place of performers, of audiences and individual spotlights. Ultimately, the auditorium is more effective at framing an individual's solo performance; these performances are

sites of struggle and triumph throughout the series. In keeping with the TSS's didactic nature, these solo performances reward students for learning the lesson the episode is teaching.

For the most part, these two places serve different purposes: the rehearsal room exists for the construction of relationships and solidarity, while the auditorium is the site of individual expression. While this distinction is not completely consistent, it can be seen in the episode "Wheels" (1.9). In this episode, wheelchair-bound Artie's mobility problems come into focus; the glee club lacks the resources to rent a wheelchair-compatible bus, and the other members decide this is not a priority. This introduces the group's problem, that they do not show empathy toward one of their own. Artie asks to use the auditorium to rehearse, so there is a diegetic reason for his movement from the rehearsal room to the auditorium. On the stage of the auditorium, under theatrical lighting, Artie begins to sing a cover of Billy Idol's "Dancing with Myself." The dark, simple stage and strong lighting on Artie's pale clothes and skin make Artie the clear focus in the scene, emphasizing his loneliness, although colour is also present in the curtain behind him. This triggers a dream sequence in which Artie dances in his wheelchair through the hallways and cafeteria. The music connects these various spaces seamlessly as well as expressing the theme in its lyrics. Artie lingers invisibly by Tina (Jenna Ushkowitz) in the cafeteria, connecting his lack of physical mobility to his problematized masculine heterosexuality. At the end of the sequence, he is back in the auditorium, reinforcing the sense that his performance is expressive. Although Will surreptitiously observes, Artie is not singing for an audience, but performing self-expression.

The next scene is back in the rehearsal room, where Will scolds the other club members for their lack of solidarity with Artie, and assigns them the task of spending a week confined to a wheelchair to understand his life better. In other words, Artie goes

to the auditorium to express his individual feelings alone, yet the group dynamics issue of solidarity is introduced and then its solution is initiated in the rehearsal room. Of course, as a glee club the members perform together in the auditorium, which would seem to conflict with the individual self-realization performances that occur there. However, these group performances occur when the club is at a stable point in its equilibrium. For example, in "Wheels," the club performs together in wheelchairs in a show of acceptance of Artie and his world.

This means that the rehearsal room sometimes has its limitations for self-realization. As Christina Belcher notes, it does not fully allow for lesbian sexual awakening in "Sexy" (2.15). As she argues, substitute teacher Holly (Gwyneth Paltrow)

> exudes sexuality when she headbangs and begs, 'Do you wanna touch me there?' because she has heterosexual desire and rock and roll on her side. Yet, when she joins Brittany and Santana to discuss their potential lesbian relationship and her own dabbling with lesbianism in college (name-dropping Ani DiFranco in the process), she invites the girls into her 'sacred sharing circle' to examine feelings, not to feel sexy. (418)

In an episode about sexuality and maturity, the role of the lesbian is chaste feelings, not exciting and "rock and roll." This means the exploration of Santana's authentic lesbian self is not thorough, especially for a notably sexually active character. And if not everyone can reach true self-realization in the rehearsal room, then it is not a complete sanctuary for all members.

Like the glee club, *Ouran*'s host club has its own sanctuary, an unused music room. In other words, although the host club represents very popular and influential students, and seems to have tremendous resources, it is tucked away into an extra space. Interestingly, although music is not a focus of the host club, it uses a room connected

with musical performance, which reflects the performative nature of the club itself. And in fact, Tamaki plays piano in multiple episodes, such as in "And So Kyoya Met Him!" (1.23) when he reveals this talent to Kyouya. However, for the most part the host club's performances take the shape of romantic male roles from history and popular culture.

In itself, the host club room is relatively unassuming. When it has not been transformed into the setting for whatever fantasy the club is presenting to its clientele, it is very spacious but nearly empty. It is delineated by a strong boundary from the rest of the school, which is emphasized by repeated shots of doors opening and narration announcing what is on the other side of the doors. This is typically echoed by musical cues and glowing light that obscures the walls and other mundane parts of the room. Like *Glee*'s rehearsal room, the host club room transforms with apparent ease, although these transformations are decidedly more dramatic. For example, in "The Job of a High School Host" (1.2), the club room becomes a tropical paradise. Within this fluid space, which comes from the resources and creativity of wealthy, intelligent students, the host club members can try on different costumes and roles. This is a safe place for them to experiment, although it is under the surveillance of their female peers.

This surveillance, as well as Japanese social structure, means the hosts do not necessarily express their authentic selves during "business hours." The clearest examples of this are Kyouya, who acts pleasantly only for the sake of business, and the twins Hikaru and Kaoru, who act out an incestuous relationship to echo a common trope in *shoujo anime* and *manga*. Performing historical or romantic figures allows the hosts to fulfill ideals for their clientele more than for themselves. When the club members are alone together, they can be more genuine, although never completely equal. Japanese school culture puts a hierarchy in place that keeps the characters from

speaking or acting completely honestly. Although the twins relentlessly tease Tamaki, who is a year ahead of them, generally the club respects the Japanese *senpai-kouhai* (upper class person/lower class person) tradition. This is reflected in level of language and naming. For example, only students in the same year call each other by first names without honourifics, and upper class persons use the first names of the lower class persons but not vice-versa. This maintains a level of reservation within the sanctuary of the club room.

However, some of that reservation is due to lack of maturity or willingness to accept the emotional risks of honesty. This often comes through in Tamaki's peculiar "family setting" for the club, in which he pretends he is Haruhi's father, Kyouya her mother, and the rest of the club her siblings. Kaoru, the more observant twin, explains this in narration as a way to avoid admitting that a young woman in the club threatens the stability of the club's social dynamics, with this symbolically represented as Cinderella's pumpkin carriage ("Until the Day it Becomes a Pumpkin!" 1.21). Haruhi is a female presence in the club room with full access to it and its secrets, unlike one of their clients; she is part of their inner circle, raising the possibility of real romantic feelings. Compared to the sanctuaries in McKinley and Medenham, Ouran's club room is a place for experimentation and play more than it is a site of expressing the authentic self.

In *Hex*, there is no club structure, but instead an unofficial inner circle of those aware of the supernatural battle between witches and Nephilim taking place at Medenham Hall. The club is replaced by personal relationships between Cassie and Thelma in the first season, and Ella, Thelma, and Leon in the second. As they are not joined by any external system or school tradition, there is no official space for them to turn into a sanctuary. Yet, because Medenham Hall is a boarding school, there are

private places where a certain amount of secrecy can be achieved. Instead of a club room, first Cassie's, then Ella's bedroom, become sanctuaries for themselves and their allies.

These bedrooms are distinctly gendered as feminine spaces, both with abundant filmy cloth and vibrant colour. Cassie's bedroom is especially feminine as roommate Thelma's sexuality is represented throughout by posters of scantily clad women. The comfort and privacy are emphasized by Cassie and Thelma wearing pyjamas or changing clothes here; it is also where Cassie creates art. The equilibrium initially created in this room is a friendship intermingled with flirtation; for example, when Cassie begins to have nightmares and Thelma comforts her, Cassie teases, "What are you, my dyke in shining armour?" ("The Story Begins Part 1" 1.1) The bedroom is not as complete a sanctuary as the club rooms in the other series, as the flirtation occurs outside the bedroom as well; for example, Cassie and Thelma's picnic on the grounds in this same episode. Ella's bedroom is darker in colour but similarly decorated with filmy cloth and overtly feminine in style. It is where she can plan with Thelma and Leon as well as express her emotions; it is also where she hides her magical weaponry, such as the amulet Thelma steals in "Spiral" (2.3). Like Cassie's bedroom, it is a place to retreat from the threats of the rest of the school and the outside world.

Invasions

In *Glee*, the importance of their two sanctuaries for the comfort and growth of the glee club members is made explicit by how often they are threatened, particularly in the first season. One of the ways domineering cheerleading coach Sue (Jane Lynch) controls the school is through directing its resources her way, and she repeatedly tries to take away glee club resources. For example, in "Home" (1.16), Sue takes over the auditorium, and Will must find spaces outside the school for the glee club to rehearse in; in the end, April Rhodes (Kristin Chenoweth) buys the auditorium for the glee club,

finally making this a permanent space for them. Invasions from outside the school can disturb the club as well. In "Hairography" (1.11), the Jane Addams Academy glee club performs in the auditorium and disrupts the McKinley club's equilibrium. Intimidated by the performance style of the visiting club, Will changes his approach and resorts to "hairography," where the performers move their long hair around vigorously to add excitement as well as camouflage weak skills. This shallow and deceptive style does not suit his club and the members look foolish in the wigs Will has them wear. As Rachel disagrees with this strategy, the solidarity of the club slips. When the Haverbrook School for the Deaf's glee club visits, McKinley performs for them in the rehearsal room rather than the auditorium. The "hairography" routine elicits dubious reactions from the visitors. However, when the Haverbrook glee club performs, the homey atmosphere of the choir room emphasizes their simple and authentic performance, which moves the McKinley glee club to join in. More importantly, the authenticity of the Haverbrook performance restores the balance of the McKinley glee club. After this leads Will to abandon hairography, the glee club returns to their auditorium to present a united front in singing a simpler number. The damage done by the Jane Addams invasion has been undone by the Haverbrook presence in the choir room, and the McKinley glee club can again present their authentic selves as a group on the auditorium stage. The song "True Colors," performed by the members on stools, reflects this authentic performance. This much simpler performance lacks anything that could obscure vocal or other flaws and reveals restored confidence in their own abilities. Overcoming these threats reinforces individual identities, the strength of the club itself, and by extension the value of having stable, safe spaces to express their authentic selves through performance.

In *Ouran*, although the host club serves a clientele, and so allows its sanctuary to have visitors regularly, it also suffers invasions. These invasions disturb the equilibrium of

the club only to have it restored (sometimes only partially) at the end of the episode. Most of these are very mild in nature -- characters in need of help with their romantic or social skills temporarily interact with the hosts in their club room. For example, in "The Grade School Host is the Naughty Type!" (1.6), elementary school boy Shirou (Takeuchi Junko) comes to the club to learn from Tamaki how to make girls happy. Shirou is not an appropriate client or host due to his age, and does not attempt to play along with its illusions; he causes trouble for the others by taking their roles at face value and speaking too honestly about their oddities. He asks Haruhi if she is an *okama*, a word meaning "a gay man, thought to be 'feminine' in style and dress" (Valentine 57). Tamaki and the twins promptly start loudly proclaiming how masculine Haruhi is in an attempt to fend revelation of her sex. The club room's fluidity is again apparent as Tamaki calls down an iron cage over top of Shirou; in a self-referential move typical of the series, Haruhi questions why this cage would exist in what was built to be a music room. Tamaki confines Shirou because he has been disrespectful to Haruhi, who is his *senpai* in this situation, and also because he is too impatient to learn how to please girls.

To Tamaki, this romantic male lead role is something that requires training and discipline; in other words, it does not come naturally. Japanese culture has "a long history of gender performativity on the Japanese stage. In traditional Kabuki, which has been male dominated since the 1600s, male actors known as *onnagata* are responsible for playing female roles" and in the Takarazuka Revue troop women play male roles as well (Darlington). Recognizing that gender roles require performance, Tamaki has a great deal of advice for Shirou on how to perform the role of the romantic male lead. However, the hosts realize that Shirou wishes to please a *particular* girl, and change tactics so that Shirou can express his feelings with music rather than host skills. This is one instance when Tamaki's ability to move others through playing piano is linked to authentic emotions rather than to role-playing.

Seeing that Shirou's love interest would most like to play the piano with Shirou, Tamaki turns host training into piano practice instead. Performance here has the potential to express real emotions as well as to fulfill fantasy roles.

The hosts often help others work out social relationships in this way. One of these charity cases is Kasanoda (Hatano Wataru), the son of a Yakuza boss whose physical appearance and heritage makes everyone assume he is hostile and violent. Kasanoda first appears in "Mori-senpai Has an Apprentice Candidate!" (1.22) to try to learn how to make friends; like Shirou, he then threatens the host's roles and relationships through a lack of knowledge of the fantasies they represent. A combination of Kasanoda's honest questioning of Tamaki's role as Haruhi's father and Kasanoda's accidental discovery of Haruhi's biological sex is such a disruption that Tamaki's emotive distortions of space and uses of symbolism become extreme; for example, his consciousness is portrayed as travelling through a cosmos including dinosaurs and exploding planets ("Tamaki's Unwitting Depression!" 1.23). The dissonance between Tamaki's resistance of potential genuine heterosexuality happening in his club room and his underlying desires makes him unable to act at all. As Kasanoda vows to keep Haruhi's secret, when he reserves her as a host it appears to be a homosexual relationship. He is, on the surface, not conforming to heterosexual and masculine norms, yet appearing homosexual before others ironically makes him acceptable to the host club's clientele. However, what restores the equilibrium is Haruhi's immaturity, as she fails to recognize the romantic nature of Kasanoda's visit and refers to him openly as a friend. This inadvertent rejection actually solves Kasanoda's loneliness as sympathy for his romantic plight makes the other students want to befriend him.

Just as with the club rooms in *Glee* and *Ouran*, these sanctuaries are made clearer when they are disturbed or invaded, and both Cassie and Ella's bedrooms in *Hex* are penetrated and compromised throughout the series. These invasions happen on

multiple levels. The very first invasion occurs when she brings the magical vase she has found into her bedroom, a source of visions of events from the estate's past involvement in slavery. Indeed, the history of the school is inescapable, affecting the future as Medenham's students "become firsthand witnesses to (and, in many cases participants in) an age-old battle between good and evil, culminating in the End of Days" (Davis 138). As British tradition, history, and religious mythology permeate Medenham Hall, even the bedrooms cannot be unaffected. As Davis notes, *Hex*'s "nostalgic impulse suggests the school's modern moments are all rooted in prior paranormal points" (139). Cassie and Ella try to create shelters from these storms from the past, but are never truly successful. However, these sanctuaries are necessary for the solidarity of those on the side of good in Medenham.

On a social level, Cassie's bedroom is invaded by Roxanne (Amber Sainsbury), who pretends friendship with Cassie in an attempt to secure her silence about a relationship with a teacher ("The Story Begins Part 1" 1.1). This creates a disruption in Cassie and Thelma's friendship, because Cassie begins to neglect Thelma as she seeks popularity. It is the entrance of an insider into a sanctuary for outsiders. However, the most significant invasion is fallen angel Azazael's (Michael Fassbender) entrance into Cassie's bedroom and subsequent seduction ("The Release" 1.5). Although Azazael has been brought into the world and into the school before this, this is the disaster point for the season, bringing on Cassie's pregnancy. The connection between sexual awakening and personality is clear in the series. Cassie's possession is a bodily invasion that affects her morally; she treats Thelma poorly, taunting her over her attraction to Cassie, as well as manipulating men such as Troy (Joseph Morgan) ("The Release" 1.5). This invasion leads to Cassie acting in an inappropriately adult manner, first sexually, then maternally. These acts are dangerous not only in that they are part of the pending end of days, but also because they disrupts her social relationships and her schooling. Her

ventures into adult sexuality are thus disastrous. Like the *Ouran* hosts, she is not yet mature enough for adult heterosexual behaviour. However, Cassie is destined to play this role, as is revealed to her by her mother ("Possession" 1.4). In this way, the series portrays a wariness of young women stepping into traditional gender roles; becoming a lover and mother are actually dangerous, not only to the young women themselves, but to all those around them.

Although the bedroom has been invaded multiple times by the end of the first season, it remains a sanctuary. At the beginning of the second season, fallen angel hunter Ella creates a hexagram in Cassie's bedroom for the purpose of defending her from Azazael ("Death Takes the Mother" 2.2). This hexagram is associated with femininity, as Ella carves it and prepares it wearing a corset and high heeled boots, as well as female knowledge: when Thelma points out Latin is missing from the hexagram, Ella speaks contemptuously of Latin as being used by ignorant priests, a traditionally male role. Here she is dressed in showy, sexualized clothing, yet claiming to a more authentic form of knowledge than the showier Latin of the priests. In the end, it is not the hexagram or the bedroom itself that fails to operate as a sanctuary, but Cassie, who has been compromised by Azazael and fails to stay safely within its boundaries. The weakness in the sanctuary is not the lesbian ghost, nor the centuries-old witch, but the young woman clinging to romanticized notions of heterosexual love and motherhood.

Ella's bedroom is also invaded, and like Cassie's bedroom, this is preceded by a form of possession. Leon, with whom she has formed a romantic relationship, falls under Malachi's influence. This gives Leon enough strength to subdue Ella, and he proceeds to bind and torture her ("Seven Deadly Sins" 2.12). Leon makes Thelma leave the room, meaning he has truly taken over the sanctuary. In the same episode, when Ella thinks she will die as a result of Leon's torture, she expresses vulnerability and

emotion to Thelma. Her authentic self has been repressed to allow her to be a hard-hearted killer destined to kill Malachi. As Leon puts it, "You've been killing for so long, you've forgotten what love is" ("The Showdown" 2.13). Leon allows her to explore a more innocent form of romantic love, as he is young, inexperienced and easily dominated; his contamination is thus a major disruption of the sanctuary. It is restored when he is caged, then restored to normalcy through Thelma's ability to move through dreams. Once Leon and Ella's power balance is restored, her bedroom becomes a sanctuary again; it is where Leon breaks up with her, leaving her to cry and Thelma to come in to comfort her. In this way, it is yet again a place where emotional confessions can safely occur, even if they are not happy ones.

Conclusion

National identity consists of multiple factors, and as adolescent characters are growing into potentially sexually activity and expected gender roles, these factors come to the fore in TSS. In programmes like *Glee,* overt acts of performance are a way to reveal an often hidden or threatened authentic self. This self is implicitly connected to national identity, which contains distinct notions of appropriate gender roles and sexual relationships. For those who struggle to conform, sanctuaries within the school allow for self-expression with fewer consequences. The permeability of these sanctuaries affects students' abilities to express themselves or to resist the pressures of the institution and the their peers alike. Sanctuaries require boundaries, which means that in order to protect their inhabitants, they must be to some extent exclusionary. Nor are all authentic selves suitable to enter; improper behaviour, such as Ayanokouji's (Neya Michiko) open snobbery and female jealousy ("From Today You Are a Host" 1.1), result in eviction from the sanctuary. In this way, sanctuaries restrict identity formation; improper behaviour tends to align with concepts of national identity. For example, being unfriendly and exclusionary in a school club setting does not align with Japanese cultural concepts of in-group, out-group, and

cooperation; as Haruhi is part of the club's in-group, the club defends her. The *Glee* club tries to be welcoming to all, but Santana and Sugar (Vanessa Lengies) are at times unwelcome because they are not willing to alter their behaviour enough to work within the club framework. In *Hex,* disloyalty and dishonesty from Thelma mean that she and Ella part ways ("You Lose" 2.10). In all three programmes, protagonists are presented as different from the mainstream student populace, and yet simultaneously their virtues reflect positive aspects of their native national cultures.

Whether in opposition to or cooperation with the correct ways of expressing identity, the students must negotiate not only the boundaries of the institution as a whole, but the smaller bounded spaces within the institution. This is one way in which the institution puts pressures on forming identities. The more mainstream that identity, the more likely it is that boundaries will present few problems to the student; the less acceptable the identity, the more boundaries to be encountered and possibly crossed. This is a powerful way to demonstrate how covertly institutional discourses can be reinforced in students, as moving into the wrong spaces has consequences, and moving into the appropriate ones for their roles (such as the gleeks[8]) results in companionship, support, and safety. Boundaries have two sides, however, and the following chapter will deal with what happens on the outside of sanctuaries, in dangerous spaces.

[8] Members of the glee club.

Chapter Four: Campus Insecurity[9]

If there are safe places, then there must be unsafe ones as well. Sanctuaries are constructed through opposition as well as invasion; in other words, showing dangerous spaces helps create safe places by comparison. These danger zones exist in all three series both on school grounds and outside them. This chapter will examine different types of danger zones: shared spaces within the school, school territories that belong to other groups, and spaces outside of school control.

Shared Spaces

Shared spaces often featured in TSS are hallways, the cafeteria, and the school grounds. Starting with *Glee*, McKinley High has many different danger zones in shared spaces. When moving through these spaces, gleeks are thrown into lockers and receive slushy facials. This emphasizes how much of a sanctuary the rehearsal room is, because simply stepping out of it means a return to being bullied. In *Glee*, breaking social rules leads to physical and verbal abuse. This abuse takes place in a highly visible manner in the open space of the hallway, although generally in the absence of supervising adults. Such bullying intersects with gender and sexual performativity, as in "Theatricality" (1.20), in which club members are harassed for dressing in outrageous costumes. Kurt is especially targeted as the one cross-dressing in a Lady Gaga-inspired outfit. Ironically, he attempts to stand up for Tina when she gets pushed into a locker, playing the masculine protective role despite his gender-bending attire. He is repeatedly pushed around and threatened by Karofsky and Azimio (James Earl) throughout the episode, always in the hallway. However, the glee club manages to make the hallway a temporary sanctuary by all coming to Kurt's aid, in KISS or Lady Gaga costumes. Instead of stepping in and disciplining Karofsky and Azimio himself, Will watches this happen, reinforcing the power that

[9] Portions of this chapter were presented at the 2015 UNBC Grad Conference in my paper "Medenham's Haunted Halls: National Identity in *Hex*."

students have over the hallway. While teachers and the administration do determine rules of appropriateness within school boundaries, at McKinley High peer pressure is the most influential power system.

This emphasizes the consequences for LGBT characters in the show in a complicated way:

> It is particularly important to elaborate on the moral superiority of coming out as it is represented alongside storylines of homophobia. *Glee* both stresses the necessity of coming out while accentuating the dangers for the gay teen who got out of the closet. What does it mean to have Kurt stress the importance of coming out while he is recurrently represented as the recipient of homophobic slur and harassment? By featuring narratives that tackle homophobia within high school environments, *Glee* reflects on gay teen bullying in contemporary societies. (Dhaenens 310)

As Dhaenens argues here, it is a key part of character development for characters such as Kurt or Santana to perform their sexualities openly, and yet doing so brings about bullying and physical violence. This does not leave much room for the closeted LGBT teen, who is not portrayed so heroically. When comparing Santana's journey to acceptance of herself as a lesbian to Kurt's acceptance of himself as gay, Santana is portrayed much less favourably. She resists coming out, and treats those around her with hostility and contempt. As she is hiding her identity, she is not the bravely out-of-the-closet teen, and not being true to her authentic self, which throughout *Glee* is emphasized as the right way to be. As Taylor Cole Miller puts it, "the closet is a dangerous place to be," as Santana is, like Karofsky, "deceitful and self-hating" (31).

Regardless of the authentic self of the gleek, peers perpetrate homophobia as a

method of shaming and bullying. The strength of peer reactions in the shared spaces is evident in how heterosexual young men in the glee club are treated by stronger groups within the school. One place within McKinley where this occurs is in the bathrooms and locker rooms. Although bathrooms appear relatively rarely in *Glee* compared to other televisual high schools, they are sites of bullying at times. While trying to put on KISS face makeup in a bathroom, Finn gets harassed and shoved by Karofsky and Azimio. Despite his status as talented quarterback, Finn's willingness to wear costumes (even heavy metal ones in homage to KISS members) is an unacceptable form of masculinity:

> AZIMIO: Oh, man, how many times do we got to go through this? You being a jock, and being in this glee club, does not make you versatile. It makes you bisexual. KAROFSKY: And if we have to kick your ass to make you understand that, then our schedules are wide open.
>
> AZIMIO: Get out of my bathroom. You girls, you all belong across the hallway. Glee boy! ("Theatricality" 1.20).

In contrast, the environs of Ouran Academy are relatively safe. One early danger Haruhi faces is bullying from Ayanokouji, one of the overly mature girls causing trouble throughout the series, but this never goes beyond throwing Haruhi's school bag in a pond and making some nasty remarks ("Starting Today, You Are a Host!" 1.1). Another is exposure as a girl; in "Beware the Physical Exam!" (1.3), the yearly physical examinations are done so publicly that her secret would be revealed. Even this standard part of Japanese school life becomes a performative act at Ouran Academy; its students are too wealthy to need free medical exams, so it is set up as an opportunity for the girls to see their male counterparts shirtless. The hosts add to this theatricality by wearing unconvincing costumes, like Hanii (Saito Ayaka) and Mori (Kirii Daisuke) dressed as doctors and Tamaki's attempt to pass as Haruhi. Notably, the symbolic transformation of space here, in

the form of glowing light around Tamaki, fails to convince anyone. It represents Tamaki's certainty he is a convincing image of Haruhi, but recedes to reveal him surrounded by puzzled schoolgirls and looking the fool. Haruhi's physical examination is the only one that takes place in private due to Kyouya's machinations. Being in a separate room, inside a curtained off cubicle, is not enough protection for Haruhi, because this privacy is then endangered by an adult man who has wandered into the school to look for his daughter. He stumbles into her cubicle while she is changing. Although he is revealed to be harmless, his presence brings the rest of the hosts into the cubicle as well to "rescue" Haruhi. Tamaki covers Haruhi with his shirt, hinting that Haruhi's underlying femaleness is authentic, requiring protection, and her own nudity is not her own business. The real threat in this danger zone is only the exposure of her sex, not its stability.

Not all threats to the club are external; at times their own actions outside of club spaces get them into trouble. This tendency for students to face negative consequences for venturing into public territory is common to all three series. For example, the twins have a messy fight in the cafeteria, which the club has to clean up afterward ("The Twins Fight!" 1.5). In other words, they are treating a public space as a private one by expressing strong feelings. Japanese culture encourages a divide between one's private self and one's public self, which the twins are now transgressing. Also, club members represent their clubs to the rest of the school through their conduct, and by misbehaving publicly, the twins get the club itself in trouble with the school's administration. Ironically, this behaviour by the twins turns out to be yet another performance, as the fight is revealed to be an elaborate prank.

By comparison, Medenham Hall holds dangers in almost every corner. On the level of social relations, the locker area and the classrooms are sites of bullying even

when supervising adults are present. Again, the laws of acceptability are laid down by the students rather than the school itself. In this way, the power of the teachers and the school are made less apparent, as the students themselves work to maintain social norms. Unlike *Glee*, bullying at Medenham Hall is not physical, but instead involves continual belittling of Cassie's lack of sexual prowess. In comparison, Ella comes into Medenham Hall with confidence and hundreds of years of life experience, so she is not mocked in this way. This means that moving through the school socially is generally not a threat to her. Instead, Ella gains the contempt of other students when she is poisoned with St. John's Wort and begins acting mentally unstable ("Ella Burns" 2.4).

Other People's Territories

Just as the protagonists in all three series have sanctuaries within the schools, so too do opposing forces. Entering these territories usually has negative consequences. Here the students are vulnerable to ridicule or even violence. Examples of these spaces are locker rooms and changerooms, the domains of jocks; other club rooms; and offices belonging to adult authorities.

One way power is exercised over these spaces is by denying access to others; another is to make those spaces unbearable to be in. In *Glee*, masculine territoriality is most obvious in the locker room. As an enclosed space with rows of lockers and shower stalls to impede visibility, abuses can go on unobserved. Emotionally, it is even dangerous to a teacher such as Will, who gets little respect when he tries to speak to the football club, even with a coach present to back him up ("Pilot" 1.1). Kurt and Artie force their way onto the football team because of unusual talents despite being, as gay and disabled as well as musical performers, non-traditional in their masculinity. However, they are generally safe while they are members of the team. It is when Kurt bursts into the locker room to confront Karofsky over continued bullying that he truly breaks this boundary ("Never Been Kissed"

2.6). This confrontation begins in the hallway, but Kurt follows Karofsky into the locker room itself, where Karofsky kisses Kurt and thus reveals his own struggles with heterosexuality. For daring to invade the locker room, Kurt must now face a more dangerous hallway as well. At the same time, Finn's reluctance to play the protective male role and thus risk his popularity makes the rehearsal room less comfortable as the rest criticize him for not being the assertive and physical male leader ("Furt" 2.8). Karofsky repeatedly comes to Kurt's locker to bully him, even threatening to kill him ("The Substitute" 2.7). This leads to Kurt transferring temporarily to the private school Dalton Academy ("Furt" 2.8). Ironically, Karofsky later joins Santana's hallway patrol meant to make a show of escorting vulnerable students like Kurt around, emphasizing that the hallways are considered dangerous enough to score political points off making them safer ("Born This Way" 2.18).

By contrast, *Ouran*'s hosts are popular and suffer few threats from the student populace. However, in "Covering the Famous Host Club!" (1.14), the school newspaper club does attempt to damage that reputation in order to bolster its own weakened position. Unlike in *Glee* and *Hex* where the territory of others is dangerous, in *Ouran* the hosts are in the position of power. This is demonstrated by how they penetrate the newspaper club's clubroom, by kicking a ball through the window, and by coming in to deter the club's smear campaign by revealing they have recorded them scheming to do so. A greater threat to the hosts is Lobelia Girls' Academy, an all-girl school with a powerful Takarazuka-style[10] club who try to turn Haruhi into one of their performers (notably in a female role, so they want to make her into girl, too), with the implication that she will also become a lesbian ("Lobelia Girls' Academy Strikes Back!" 1.19); despite their attempts to "rescue" Haruhi from this fate by infiltrating Lobelia, it is

[10] Takarazuka is a theatre that uses only women as performers, with the focus on women in performing male roles (Grăjdian 1).

Haruhi's poor abilities as a performer and overall lack of interest in romance, femininity, and traditional gender roles that keep her "safely" part of the host club. In other words, her authentic self is too strong to be swayed by the aggressive gender performances of the Lobelia students.

Medenham Hall is a more dangerous place than McKinley or Ouran. All three schools have traditions and histories which affect students, but none so much as Medenham Hall with its history of slavery and its connection to fallen angels. Cassie and Ella are both connected by destiny to Medenham Hall and this battle. The risks they face in Medenham Hall range from giving up free will and becoming an accomplice to the end of days in Cassie's case, or torture and death in Ella's. Medenham Hall attracts various types of demons that endanger all its students. Of course, Cassie and Ella are not the only ones who suffer from the Medenham legacy. Thelma, as a lesbian, fails heterosexual performativity, and through flirting with Cassie, threatens her heterosexuality as well. Although Thelma seems unaffected by bullying and accepting of her own sexuality, to the point where she is offended that people think she committed suicide because of it at her own funeral ("The Story Begins Part 2" 1.2), she is relegated to the supernatural realm when killed by Azazael. Only those in the inner circle of knowledge about Medenham Hall's demonic threats can see her. Her death takes place, interestingly, in two separate dangerous spaces within Medenham Hall's boundaries.

The first is inside Cassie's dream, which is set in the hidden room just off of the cafeteria. This room is full of gothic tropes; Jowett and Abbott describe "[t]he gothic in its most recognizable manifestations, exhibits rich surface detail, distinctive iconography (that may include iconic monsters) and consciousness of its detachment from the 'real' (107). In this space in Medenham, the gothic's "rich surface detail" (107) appear in candlesticks, cobwebs, mirrors, and a four-poster bed; its "detachment" is created by its secret entrance.

Its hidden, shadowy nature hints at past dangers that might spill out onto the present. Azazael leads Cassie into the room, with a narrow POV shot that distorts his figure; that she is led there by a dangerous adult male emphasizes the importance of this space as a site for a rite of passage. In other words, she is moving into the riskier world of adult sexuality, where school, family, and even friends have little ability to protect her. It is here that Azazael demands a sacrifice, and Thelma becomes that sacrifice in order to protect Cassie. This makes impossible an actual non-heterosexual romance between the two young women as well as serving as a loss of innocence for Cassie. However, this occurs in the dream world. Thelma's body surfaces in the school lake, a feature of the school grounds appearing in various establishing shots. The grounds create a threatening atmosphere, especially in the pilot episode. Dreary natural light and long shots of the meadows suggest vulnerability and a connection to the past; Cassie repeatedly spots Azazael lurking about the grounds before he actually approaches her. Thelma appears to have drowned herself in this open, threatening space, so she becomes an inaccurate representative of a common adolescent problem (suicide caused by an inability to conform).

Another danger zone with the ability to alter time is the library. It is the first place in which Cassie and Azazael talk ("The Story Begins Part 2" 1.2). In ("The Release" 1.5), Thelma enters the library and simultaneously possesses Cassie's dream; here, the library is transformed into a cabaret club where Cassie is involved with Azazael and another woman. This is a sign of Cassie's corruption; also, two of the teaching staff also appear in this vision, enforcing the fact that this is an adult space. For Ella, the library is even more dangerous, as it is where she is restrained and subjected to St. John's Wort's candles that cause her to act violently paranoid, leading

to her institutionalization ("Ella Burns" 2.4). Again, the library is an adult space, out of Ella's control.

Visibility and vulnerability are a continual theme in the series. The girls are able to peer into the boys' bathroom and watch them in the showers and Cassie is seen in the shower with the curtain not quite drawn ("The Story Begins Part 1" 1.1). In the second season, Ella and the others set up surveillance by drilling holes in walls ("Noir" 2.7). Throughout the series there are men who stand at a distance from the school and gaze at it; in particular, Azazael is shown on multiple occasions on the grounds watching from afar. Thelma's corpse is clearly visible to all onlookers. Between the hidden rooms, peepholes, dreams and visions of the past, and the various invasions of its sanctuaries, Medenham Hall suggests that no place is truly safe and impenetrable for its adolescent inhabitants.

School Outings

Sometimes simply leaving the school environs causes trouble. Outside school boundaries, the students do not have the same understanding of their world, making them vulnerable to threats as well as to the consequences of their own errors. Rachel discovers her birth mother while scouting out the competition at another school; as her mother Shelby (Idina Menzel) is a disruptive character, this threatens both Rachel and the club's stability in various ways ("Theatricality" 1.20). Thelma's death comes about when she and Cassie go to a party in town ("The Story Begins Part 2" 1.2). Haruhi's astraphobia[11] gets the best of her in Karuizawa and she needs to be rescued from a hiding place in a local church ("The Refreshing Battle in Karuizawa!" 1.15). In all these cases, these young women step away from the protection of the school environment and into outside spaces where they are vulnerable to unexpected consequences. It must be

[11] Fear of thunder.

noted that female students face these consequences, as women are not traditionally expected to move safely through all public spaces.

Many outside spaces are inherently dangerous to students who do not yet know the rules of society. Rachel "puts herself out there" on the Internet with YouTube videos only to receive vicious comments ("Pilot" 1.1). An example of the glee club venturing into the adult world is the commercial they make for a local mattress store; in taking payment for this commercial, they break competition rules and threaten their own eligibility to compete. This mistake happens without Will's supervision, and as he has to quit coaching the club to save their eligibility, they thus remove him from the club's places as well as the competition auditorium ("Mattress" 1.12).

At times the host club in *Ouran* performs its business outside of the club room itself. One example is the club trip to Okinawa ("The Sun, the Sea and the Host Club!" 1.8). Unlike the club room, the Okinawan beach is not a space they can alter. The club members run into trouble here as it is not a space they control or fully understand. For example, Tamaki tries to find garter snakes for a prank and ends up with a bucket full of highly venomous pit vipers. When the hosts attempt to play certain gender roles it has more significant consequences in this non-simulated environment. Haruhi plays the protective boy first in removing a *mukade* (a venomous centipede) from the vicinity of frightened girls, then by standing up to older boys who come into the private beach area. This leads to Haruhi being pushed off a rock into the ocean. Haruhi's desire to protect others cannot be backed up by physical strength or fighting experience; essentially her underlying sex prevents her from truly stepping into the role of the romantic male hero. The adult world's juridical system provides severe consequences for attempting to play that role; male violence is met with male violence.

Instead Tamaki fulfills the protective male role by diving in after Haruhi and pulling her out of the ocean. The *mise-en-scène* throughout this scene is full of typical romantic tropes: first the dive, with Haruhi falling backwards and Tamaki reaching out for her; then Tamaki carrying Haruhi from the water with the backdrop dominated by the sun setting over the water. No longer the comedic bumbler, Tamaki becomes the masculine hero who can protect the heroine. The rest of the hosts also demonstrate this type of violent masculinity by beating up the invading older boys. Regardless of their various deviations from traditional masculinity, the hosts all demonstrate physical prowess. Yet Tamaki's masculinity is then undermined as he and Haruhi quarrel over this incident; Haruhi is resistant to the idea of her own physical vulnerability as a girl. Although this takes place in the massive, civilized space of a host's family beach house, and she is dressed in frilly feminine clothes, Haruhi refuses to play the role of the girl here. The situation is only defused when Hanii changes the conversation from one of femininity to one of consideration for others, telling her to apologize for making the hosts worry about her.

Similarly, outings from Medenham Hall rarely lead to positive results for Cassie. Her first attempt to participate in a party with the "cool kids" involves Leon attempting to sexually assault her and an uncontrolled burst of her developing telekinesis ("The Story Begins Part 1" 1.1). Churches are also unsafe, to the point that Cassie dies in one ("Death Takes the Mother" 2.2). Nor are hospitals safe spaces; Cassie's mother is in an asylum where Azazael can come and go as he pleases ("Possession" 1.4), and the hospital where Cassie tries to have her pregnancy terminated is another place Azazael invades to manipulate the doctor into saving her child ("The Release" 1.6). Cassie later finds the doctor's body when she tries to investigate the hospital after her termination ("Cursed" 2.1). Ella is confined in an asylum where she is tormented and weakened ("With a Little Help From My Friends: Part 1" 2.5). Churches and hospitals should be safe places, and yet as institutions they

are part of Foucault's concept of subject-creating institutions as discussed in the introduction. These institutions are sources of "power-knowledge" as they try to change their charges through their specialized and authoritative knowledge (Marshall 13). The series in general is dubious about the trustworthiness and reliability of adults and their power-knowledge, regardless of the source of it; danger is inherent in adult-dominated spaces.

Conclusion

Outside sanctuaries, students are more visible and more vulnerable. Dangerous spaces within the schools mean that students must interact with bullies and others who use both emotional and physical attacks to make them unwelcome in those spaces. Further, the students find themselves being held to adult standards and facing stronger consequences for their actions when they leave the school environs entirely. This presents conformity as something forced upon students, often by their peers; the series present the ones who cannot conform as the sympathetic characters, which allows the narratives to praise individuality and nonconformity. The dangerous spaces also reinforce the safety of the sanctuaries by showing the consequences of exiting them.

In Conclusion: Graduation Day

Schools are familiar institutions to most television viewers. On screen and in reality, they exert juridical power over students within their walls and on their grounds. In TSS, peer pressure is often the strongest power; bullies are stronger than teachers, and hierarchies of popularity far more important (in the sense that they are portrayed much more frequently) than grades and teacher approval. The three programmes examined in this thesis also demonstrate the "extensive generic mixing" Ross and Stein describe as typical features of Teen TV (8). *Glee*'s musical numbers allow the manipulation of time and space on the screen to privilege the performance of a self that is presented as authentic despite requiring singing and dancing to access and express it. *Ouran* uses parodic and comedic techniques often found in anime, such as the distortion of space, time, and character appearances to allow a socially unacceptable expressiveness. *Hex* also uses its fantasy and horror elements to play with space, time, and characters' abilities to control their situations; both Cassie and Ella have supernatural powers that allow them to access spaces that others cannot. This genre mixing opens up the possibility of challenging representations, and on the surface all three series offer challenges to traditional heterosexuality: *Glee* boasts multiple LGBTQ characters who are victims/heroes of unfair bullying; *Ouran* offers a protagonist who not only cross-dresses, but lacks interest in a distinct gender identity; and *Hex* features a major lesbian character who is permitted to have romantic storylines, if invariably tragic. A significant source of conflict is other students who try to hold back these characters who do not perform heterosexuality correctly. However, adult power over sexuality is downplayed. The expectations of performativity are not connected to specific origins which arguably lie more in the adult world than in the adolescent one. This leaves the challenge to heterosexual norms incomplete. For each series, the end goal remains getting heterosexual couples together (while homosexual couples exist in

Glee and *Hex*, they are not the main couples). This comes through in the spaces and places these students navigate, both within and without the schools. These on-screen spaces and places often serve an emotive function, but also they make clear who is acceptable and who is not. Not performing as proper heterosexual men and women means not being allowed to move through all spaces safely. Being able to access these more dangerous spaces is usually a sign of heroism and progress, yet the spaces are less altered by the invasion of the unacceptable than the unacceptable themselves are changed by their encounters.

Most tellingly, none of these series completely discards the notion of an underlying authentic self with a potentially predetermined sexuality and gender. The homosexual couples in *Glee* mimic the heterosexual couples around them; Kurt is presented as having acted feminine (something the show continually conflates with homosexuality) since a very young age when his father Burt (Mike O'Malley) says to his coming out: "I've known since you were three. All you wanted for your birthday was a pair of sensible heels" ("Preggers" 1.4); also, the characters are continually striving to be themselves or find themselves through song and dance performances. Haruhi remains an oddity in her lack of interest in playing the heroine, yet at the end of the series she is relegated to the frilly dress and the rescue by princely Tamaki ("This is Our Ouran Fair!" 1.26). Cassie and Ella may fight demons and devils, yet they are largely led by romantic impulses, as dangerous as these can be. Most tellingly, they are victims of destiny, which means that their characters are strongly linked to the roles they play, and heritage determines how their lives will go.

As Foucault, Butler, and others have argued, presenting sexuality or gender as authentic or natural hides the power structures that construct them. By laying the onus on peer pressure and other adolescent behaviour, *Glee* and *Ouran* limit the power of the outside adult world to affect these underlying authentic selves. In a slightly different

fashion, *Hex*'s two heroines choose to pursue relationships even when inappropriate, attempting to break free of adult expectations and pressures, yet ultimately failing to do so. Although all three series portray less mainstream forms of sexuality, the heterosexual romantic relationship ultimately reigns supreme. Yet these unacceptable adolescents continue to exist on screen, leaving open the possibility of more radical readings of their struggles with gender and sexuality. Adolescents are in the process of dealing with their developing identities, of which gender and sexuality are a major part. In fact, questioning one's sexuality or nature is not generally shown to be an adult activity in these series (with the exception of *Glee*, the only programme with a significant focus on adult characters, although notably the adults with these issues are connected directly to the school and have never emotionally graduated from school life). This suggests that once gender and sexuality have been worked out in the enclosed spaces of the schools, these will become stable and the adolescents will move out into the adult world as young men and women with settled sexual preferences. Through performing various roles, experimentation, and "expressing themselves," it is implied that the glee club and host club members will then find those underlying qualities in themselves; the picture is more dire for Cassie, whose choice to be a mother kills her, or Ella, who finds heterosexual romantic love but does not prevent the impending apocalypse. This may seem an ambivalent treatment of the authentic self, yet in the final scene of the series, Ella appears happy to be in Leon's arms, having finally learned to be true to her feelings for him ("The Showdown" 2.13). Dangling the carrot of an authentic self, these televisual schools promise that performing the right roles will lead to a stable identity and romantic love.

This stable identity fits within recognizable mainstream national identities in all three originating nations for these series. In other words, the generic mixing that could

allow the on-screen formation of alternative forms of identity fails to create a sustained challenge to mainstream national identity. These stories of students, nation, and identity use multiple techniques to create on-screen identities; how space and place are used is in this creation is particularly interesting because they are not foregrounded by the program, and yet they are powerful tools in creating meaning. Space and place are bounded, and those boundaries profoundly affect identities, condemning or confirming them through access. Space and place allow institutions to exert juridical power through classifying people and restricting their activities. Television presents this institutional power as an inevitable part of growing up; it also increasingly presents it as invisible, with the focus put on peer pressure and learning from peers instead. By turning the lens away from the adults, televisual school stories create institutional power as always already in its current state -- not completely effective or stable, with students sometimes avoiding its surveillance and control, yet generally guiding the bulk of its students to maturity. With the adults being made less a part of the juridical power, and in some cases going through similar maturation processes, this naturalizes that form of maturity; students will reach it inevitably, because it is the "right" and "normal" way to be. When power is naturalized, it disappears from sight, and thus the normalizing power of school becoming less visible on television makes it more difficult to question how such norms are created and enforced, both in fiction and in real life.

All three series discussed in this project use spatiality to challenge or reinforce images of national and individual identity. Spatiality entered discourses across the humanities via a series of influential works since the 1970s. Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, Edward Soja's *Postmodern Geographies*, and Doreen Massey's *Space, Place, and Gender* are all significant to media and cultural studies, as is Yi-Fu Tuan's *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience.* Soja argues that Foucault and John Berger also have significantly added to the discussion of spatiality and critical discourse (24). But like the study of television itself, examinations of space, place, and television have tended to

focus on external and sociological elements before the texts themselves. One example of this is cultural critic Raymond Williams's notion of "mobile privatization," where the public world comes into the private world of the home (Spigel 9).

National identity is a social construct built on multiple levels, including through banal nationalism. One particularly prevalent form of banal nationalism is television, with its wide reach, its polysemous texts, and its referential nature. Televisual schools, as they show the formative years of fictional students, allow various aspects of identity to be explored, such as race, class, gender, ableism, and sexuality; the focus for this project has largely been on gender and sexuality as two of the most focussed-upon topics in current televisual school stories.

In film studies, analyses of space and place have been more quickly linked to textual concerns. Julie Hallam suggests this shift towards research on film, space, and place is part of the 1990s "spatial turn" in the humanities in general (277). Brunsdon, for example, has written extensively on representations of London in film. This turn has been less obvious in Television Studies, at least in terms of textual analysis. Lynn Spigel's work on space in television is at the forefront, but her main focus is on television as a phenomenon within the home and its part in the process of changing the lines between private and public spheres; however, in her *Make Way for Television*, she does analyze representations of space in early sitcoms (105). Direct focus on space and place in television has come more recently from Jeremy Butler's *Television: Critical Methods and Application*, and most explicitly in Lury's

Interpreting Television, which contains a full chapter dealing with the topic. The topic does seem to be gaining momentum, however; for example, Markus Reisenleitner's "There's No Place Like *Charmed*: Domesticity, the Uncanny, and the Utopian Potential of the City" and Lorna Jowett's "Purgatory with Color TV: Motel Rooms as Liminal Zones in *Supernatural*" offer examinations of specific television settings.

Although this thesis aims to add to this conversation, its scope leaves questions unanswered. For example, as television texts build upon other texts, referring to each other rather than creating a direct-line relationship to reality, then this means there is a mismatch between the national identities forming on-screen and the lives of today's high school students. Some students still do not see themselves or their concerns represented in TSS; issues of representation have been raised about young adult fiction, so televisual school stories would be another valuable site of analysis for this problem. The focus on Teen TV rather than its component genres, on its audiences rather than its content, potentially glosses over what these narratives achieve or fail to achieve. For example, shows such as *Community* (2009-14), *Misfits* (2009-13), and *Orange is the New Black* (2013-) contain didacticism that strongly mimics televisual school stories, yet their characters are not high school students or even adolescents. Also, race, ethnicity, and other groups rarely or poorly represented on television create a rift between its discourses and much of its viewership. In other words, the role that other genres of fictional television play in banal nationalism is a potentially rich area of research, as is didacticism's relationship to national identity across television genres.

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